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REMNANT FORMS OF THE TRADITIONAL FOLK NARRATIVE  
SALVAGED AMONG THE  
UPPER PEND OREILLE INDIANS OF MONTANA

By

LESLIE B. DAVIS

B. A. (Anthropology) Montana State University, 1959

Presented in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Ethno-Folklore Perspective:

The cultural anthropologist's role in the study of folklore has sometimes been suspect, seldom because of alleged technical incompetencies, but rather because some professional folklorists are hyperaware of the possible perceptual advantage accrued by his familiarity with particular cultures. His confidence in ethno-folklorism is thought to be warranted more accurately as an expression of his sensitivity as a descriptive humanist rather than by his understanding of universal folklore process.

Cultural anthropologists have, with the exception of several generations of Boasians, generally disregarded the comparative approach as a basis for generalizations about folklore and its relations to culture. Sven Liljeblad (1962:103), a modern devotee of the universal-comparative view, states the position thusly:

Without due regard to the universality of these regularities [elements], it would seem a hopeless task for the ethnologist, however familiar he may be with the culture of the area under study, to solve ex hypothesi the equation of its fiction.

Further, Richard Dorson (1963:1), a leading professional folklorist, develops a case for a restrictive professional mandate during the course of which the ethnologist anthropologist loses his acquired license: "Why then cannot folklore be handled . . . by the cultural anthropologist who has flirted with folklore . . . ?" History, however, fails to document a disciplinary basis for superior prerogatives in the hybrid field of folklore study. Mythology<sup>1</sup> and other forms of



the traditional narrative have been choice morsels for phenomenologists, historians, and philosophers for uncounted centuries. Authors, logicians, and even psychoanalysts have occupied themselves with explaining the nature and function of folklore.<sup>2</sup> Bronislaw Malinowski (1948:99) wrote about the latter occupational class and, in so doing, conveyed an attitude shared by many of his colleagues:

Finally, we have the psychoanalyst who has come to teach us that myth is a daydream of the race, and that we can only explain it by turning our back upon nature, history and culture, and diving deep into the dark pools of the subconscious, where at the bottom there lie the usual paraphernalia and symbols of psychoanalytic exegesis. So that when at last the poor anthropologist and student of folklore come to the feast, there are hardly any crumbs left for them!

Scientific concern with folklore developed out of manifold ponderings, as the diversity of interests naturally indicates. The early Western schools considered native folklore as a local development influenced by diffusion. The sociologically oriented folklorists of the 1860's centered their attention on the narrator himself and investigated the impact of his abilities and his culture upon the formation of myth. The early 1900's in America witnessed the appearance of numerous generalized and unsophisticated renditions of North American Indian stories, few of which have become major contributions to folklore theory.<sup>3</sup> Of even less scientific worth was the flood of popularized native traditions written for lay consumption by such authors as Schultz, Linderman, Mary Wade, Eda Lou Walton, and many others.<sup>4</sup>

Trends in European ethnography turned from speculation about origins and environmental interpretation to the synchronic or concurrent aspects of the folk narrative during the early decades after the turn of the century. The Finnish-American school developed a scientific system designed to factor the common denominators from among

numerous folktale variations, a classificatory device known as the Aarne-Thompson Index of Folktale Types. Coinciding with methodological advances in Western Europe, Russian folklorists demonstrated the structural-analytical method. This school, according to Vladimar Propp (1958:vi), recognized folklore as a collective product whose recurrent, conventionalized and stylized structural components and its highly pronounced formula characteristics and stylistic patterns allowed experimental manipulation. The formalist school soon fell into disfavor in Russia and its proponents, among them Propp, abandoned the orthodox view and adopted instead an essentially Marxist view, seeking to understand the affinities between ritual, myth, and society at varying evolutionary levels. Claude Levi-Strauss (1955) did, however, adopt the basic formalist principles and applied them in the interpretation of native American myth from its form and structure.

Anthropologists, while occasionally contributing to the conceptual chaos, brought to the study of folklore sets of concepts which help place traditional forms in their most meaningful, diachronic perspective. So, anthropologists can perhaps be credited also with unusual quantitative as well as qualitative advancements in excess of those accomplished by any other identifiable group working among native populations (assuming that many students of primitive linguistics have contributed fundamentally as anthropologists).

Malinowski (1926:100-1), typifying the views of culturologists in their affinities for the study of myth, brought the intricacies of folklore sharply into focus in their role as cultural continuants when he conceived of myth as:

. . . a hard working, extremely important cultural force, a

narrative resurrection of a primeval reality, told in satisfaction of deep religious wants, moral craving, social submissions, even practical requirements. It is a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom which comes into play when rite, ceremony, or a social or moral rule demands justification, warrant of antiquity, reality and sanctity.

The conceptual emphasis seems properly placed within the study of culture though the empiricist may regard Malinowski's rich expression as flagrant impressionism.

Prominent among the early and still operative schools of ethno-folklore endeavor is the diffusionist school of Franz Boas. Boas is properly considered a pioneer in the gathering of folk narratives among the non-literate societies of northwestern America. As early as 1891, Boas (1891:13-20) proposed to explain the processes involved in narrative dissemination in North America by advocating a threefold approach: (1) a careful study of their component parts, (2) their mode of dissemination and (3) followed by a study of the psychology of dissemination and amalgamation.

Boas placed heavy emphasis upon diffusion as the primary rationale for the existence of parallel and similar combinations of narrative elements. His use of the comparative method, based upon the assumption of a single center of tale origin in a continuous geographic area, is best illustrated in Indianische Sagen Von Der Nord-Pacifischen Kuste Amerikas published in 1895 (see Mooney 1900:428). Boas' leadership in the collection of texts is seen as early as 1888 and most profoundly in his role of 1917 as editor and contributor to Folktales Of Salishan And Sahaptin Tribes.<sup>5</sup>

Boas' contributions to the understanding of narrative dynamics were by no means either apologetic or restricted to the cultures with

which he worked. Although he recognized the fundamental similarity between ancient and modern myth-making processes (1940:404), he also observed that inconsistencies develop which tend to indicate a lack of agreement between ancient and modern beliefs and customs in narratives and in life, due to forces in play during periods of transition (1955:332).

---

Further evidence of Boas' influence upon theory appears in the writings of his student successors. Reichard (1921:296) contended for the comparative study based upon the analysis of "plots and plot motivation, which, being the scaffolding upon which the tale hangs, are the final tests of myth-dissemination." Also, ". . . it is evident that tales travel, and become adopted or incorporated into tribal mythology, because of their content rather than because of their style or plot consistency." Collateral with Reichard's analytical treatment of Coeur d'Alene tales (1947a,b), Jacobs (1959) analyzed Clackamas Chinook narratives in terms of their stylistic and thematic peculiarities, irrespective of purely historical-comparative considerations. In a much earlier publication, Jacobs (1934) rebelled at viewing Klikitat and Cowlitz myths merely in terms of their regional distribution; he emphasized instead the cultural setting itself as the significant determinant and subordinated reference to the effects of areal interchange.

Another of Boas' proteges, Waterman (1914:2), quarrelled with the traditional historical view. He wrote:

It is rather evident that any discussion concerning the actual development of folktales must be based upon something other than ascertainable historical data . . . This fact has been widely recognized and the writers who deal at all with the history of folklore attempt to reconstruct that history either on the bases of

psychological probabilities, or on the study of folklore as it is found among modern peoples.

Lowie (1942), not unlike Jacobs, considered the culture setting and raconteurial reaction of utmost importance. He used Plains Indian folklore to demonstrate a technique for deriving prototypes by the internal comparison of variants; in so doing, he assumed the existence of a generic pattern, attended by a few sub-patterns, as the essential narrative base manipulated by the individual narrator.<sup>6</sup> He thus assigned unusual license to the narrator (1952:273-4):

. . . my point at present is merely that the mythopeic imagination working with the traditional religious stock-in-trade may sensibly affect the core of the religious sentiment, may tend to a shifting of the center of gravity, so to speak. If a storyteller has adequate authority to establish his individual version as the standard, then it may appreciably modify the reactions to traditional sacred figures, adding to the sanctity of some, detracting from that of others by the definiteness of the picture thus impressed on the auditors.

Notable among Boas' successors for his remarkable interest in primitive literature was Paul Radin whose efforts in defense of oral traditions as legitimate literature are widely known (Radin 1955, 1957; Boas 1921). Radin's contributions to the general understanding of narrative prose are profuse, but one of his best known formulations may be the "philosopher class hypothesis". He submitted that among pre-literate peoples there exists a minority status group whose privileged mandate allows preoccupation with reflection and aesthetic speculation. Radin may have, however, tended to exaggerate the importance of his conclusions (1957:386):

If it can be shown that the thinkers among primitive peoples envisage life in philosophical terms, that human experience and the world around them have become objects for reflection, that these ponderings and searchings have become embodied in literature and ritual, then obviously our customary treatment of culture history, not to mention that of philosophical speculation, must be

completely revised.

To what extent this hypothesis is universally demonstrable and to what extent the formulation is an important departure from the thinking of Radin's contemporaries remain topics for argument. Superficially, the hypothesis seems to have done little more than validate conceptions already in use implicitly and operationally by other nativist folklorists.

---

Dissatisfaction with past and current usage of folklore as cultural data appears in the writing of Hallowell (1946:545) when he argued that the "traditional" frame of folklore reference has caused insufficient and inefficient use of oral narratives because of the strict limits within which it has been considered. Levi-Strauss (1955: 432) accordingly suggested a source of inefficiency when he stated firmly that "The confusions and platitudes which are the outcome of comparative mythology can be explained by the fact that multi-dimensional frames of references cannot be ignored, or naively replaced by two or three dimensional ones." The shortage of universal generalizations about culture, as they have been derived exclusively from the study of folklore, also hints at a certain lack of effectiveness of such study as a hypothesis-building discipline.

Often it seems that understanding has been subordinate to system, the expeditious construction of restricted conceptual sets whose actual aims were ascendance over previous inadequate, tightly structured schemes. Many previous ethno-folklore studies, myriad though their design and flexible though their theoretical affinities and intent, have not taken into account the multi-causality of social facts as may be noted in their persistent application of single principles to

rationalize the personal-cultural-structural relevance of narrative forms.

Therefore, as a consequence of reviewing the literature, flexibility was selected as the all-important key to comprehension, if indeed, comprehension of the Upper Pend Oreille traditional narrative was possible to attain. A broad situational research approach was adopted as a means to maximizing available data.

It seems unlikely, regrettably, that the analyst of remnant oral literatures can expect to ascend to a position where he can control his data with empiric accuracy, confronted as he is by the manifold social variables that persistently divert his attention and which are at work continually upon the data itself.

#### Study Design:

Upper Pend Oreille culture is known on the basis of ethnographic data that are fragmented in some respects and alternately generalized in others. The cultural portrait has been considered adequate for broad comparative purposes. The historical positioning of the Upper Pend Oreille has been established to the majority satisfaction of scholars, and their cultural relations with adjoining ethnic groups in the Columbia Plateau, the Intermountain area, and the bordering Plains area are relatively apparent in the literature. The desirability of acquiring more specific data, should such data remain in existence, appears nonetheless attractive. The gradual but inevitable passing of the few remaining and knowledgeable informants of Upper Pend Oreille cultural extraction may signal very soon the cessation of a once substantially distinctive life way.

The focus of this study, from a data collection viewpoint,

revolves around one central aspect of Upper Pend Oreille tradition: that congerie of oral narratives transmitted characteristically over time and space as a consequence of continuing social needs and in accordance with culturally defined thematic and stylistic prescriptions. "Traditional narratives" are accepted to be those narratives which are adjudged by the analyst to retain and project content, form, and ritual associations most reliably from an earlier life period, relatively uncontaminated by Western and other-aboriginal influence.

Examination of a limited number of narrative samples gathered under recent field conditions allows a correspondingly limited quantity of inferences about the "earlier" culture of the Upper Pend Oreille. The effort provides a data foundation from which narrative dynamics per se, viewed as effects of inter- and intra-cultural stress, may be appraised. The presentation also presents a late medium by which to test current perceptions of Upper Pend Oreille ethnography.

In any event, the value of the discussion rests in the degree to which it supplements and clarifies existing descriptive materials, and in the extent to which it prompts consideration of theoretical questions appropriate to the study of ethnic populations that have succumbed to assimilative stress. It remains possible regardless that the forces inevitable in and among cultures may not yet have obliterated cultural difference.

#### Field Procedure:

It was originally planned to gather folk narrative data from a number of elderly Upper Pend Oreille narrators. The initial research intent was the collection, rendition, analysis, and description of numerous narratives from an essentially ethno-literary perspective,



i.e. the definition of thematic and stylistic characteristics attributable to the Upper Pend Oreille narrative, as a means of demonstrating the effects of cross-cultural interchange upon the form and content of the traditional narrative.<sup>7</sup> Preliminary efforts in the field proved these objectives to be unrealistic because of a scarcity of informants. The twin problems of limited time and resources also helped disable the effort.<sup>8</sup> The design was then revised to use a raconteur informant in a setting of other dependable informants who were not necessarily raconteurs. It was felt that gathering a larger cross-section of narrative units from one or two narrators would be preferable to gathering only three or four narratives from several raconteurs scattered in different areas, considering that little such data had been gathered previously. Investigation was confined eventually to a small Upper Pend Oreille community nestled at the western base of the Mission Range, south of Ronan, Montana, and some fifty miles north of Missoula.

Time has seen the extinction, by absorption and disease, of several Upper Pend Oreille enclaves that were located in historic times near Perma, St. Ignatius, and around Ronan. The Peter Beaverheads and a few other families residing nearby constitute the nucleus of social life in their immediate vicinity. Pete Beaverhead (Pīedh Kalowakn), born in 1899 of Upper and Lower Pend Oreille parents, served continually as principal narrator and informant on related topics. Pete's wife, Mrs. Josephine Beaverhead (Sūset Kalowakn), born in the early 1900's of Cree and Upper Pend Oreille parentage, acted primarily as interpreter and intermittently as general informant.<sup>9</sup> Mr. Patrick Adams, in his late twenties and of Pend Oreille-Nez Perce descent, assisted occasionally as secondary narrator, interpreter, and informant. Data were gathered

during interviews in the Beaverhead home.<sup>10</sup> Interviewing extended through the winter months of 1959 and 1960; contact was made as frequently as weather and resources allowed.

Research interest was defined casually during initial meetings. When it appeared that more specific direction was necessary to draw forth more relevant data, the principal informant was advised, in the interest of efficiency, to concentrate his reflections upon those kinds of stories which he regarded as "old" by his standards; the antiquity implication helped to select against the later "tale" innovations that were a plague on time. A further specification was intended to elicit narratives whose content and events had their locus in environs known to have been occupied by or familiar to the Upper Pend Oreille; that cue may not have been either realistic or effective. With these cues functioning as broad guidelines, the narratives produced and presented in this report in toto were transcribed by hand.<sup>11</sup> The closest possible adherence to native phraseology (Indian translation into English) was attempted, but the projective intervention of the bilingual interpreter surely contributed to a lamentable loss of idiom.

Other kinds of narratives, including those of legendary<sup>12</sup> proportions, but mostly those extolling personal-historic adventures, were recorded in conjunction with the central quest. These narratives were helpful in understanding folk conceptions of time depth difference between the remote past and the more accessible near-recent period.<sup>13</sup>

## Chapter One

## Notes

- 1/ "Mythology" is used frequently as a generic term denoting inclusion of sub-forms or variations in the form of the traditional narrative.
- 2/ Samples of these writings include Joseph Campbell, The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology. Viking Press, New York, 1959; Edith Hamilton, Mythology. Little, Brown & Co., New York, 1953; Sigmund Freud, Totem and Taboo. In the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. London, The Hogarth Press, XIII, 1955 (1913).
- 3/ The following sources represent early generalized Americanist contributions: L. Spence, The Mythology of the North American Indians. New York, 1914; E. W. Richmond, editor, Studies in Folklore - In Honor of Distinguished Service Professor, Stith Thompson. Indiana University Press, Folklore Series No. 9, 1957; Stith Thompson, Tales of the North American Indians. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1929, and The Folktale. Dryden Press, New York, 1946.
- 4/ See J. W. Schultz, Blackfeet Tales. Boston, 1916; F. B. Linderman, Indian Why Stories. New York, 1953; Mary Wade, Indian Fairy Tales; Eda Lou Walton, Dawn Boy.
- 5/ See also Lowie (1959:129-34).
- 6/ Joseph Bedier, in Les Fabliaux (1893), denounced the practice then current in western Europe of examining all the variants of a single narrative: "Greater antiquity of record does not imply superior age of the variant; the method hitherto in vogue, of laboriously collecting and examining all varieties of any tale, is completely sterile."
- 7/ See "Folktale Research Among the Upper Pend Oreille Indians of Montana", Proceedings of the Montana Academy of Sciences, Vol. 20:58-62, 1960, for a description of my early reaction to data and field conditions.
- 8/ Mr. Ray Loman, editor of the Ronan Pioneer, graciously provided funds which defrayed a large portion of travel and related costs incurred during the winter of 1959, thereby increasing materially the frequency of contacts on the reservation.
- 9/ Dr. Sven Liljeblad, linguist and folklorist at Idaho State University, commented in conversation (May 5, 1963) that this combination of informants and their willingness to work without financial remuneration was as nearly ideal as he could judge from his experience.

- 10/ The author is indebted to Dr. Verne Dusenberry, for his having developed the initial meeting with his friends, the Beaverheads.
- 11/ A tape recorder was employed initially to record narratives in Salish. This technique had the advantage of allowing natural continuity of narration, unlike the artificial pace introduced by hand transcription. The cost of tapes became prohibitive and the practice had to be abandoned almost as soon as it was begun in favor of a less costly and less time-consuming approach.
- 12/ Legendary narratives have their basis in demonstrable historic fact; known personages and accounts of their exploits are involved. Personal-historical narratives take on legendary proportions when mystical attributes are attached by subsequent generations of narrators.
- 13/ Recorded on tape and repositied in the Laboratory of Anthropology at Montana State University were a number of songs offered by the respondent group. Each song is known by reference to the dance or ritual it accompanies: a typical "War Dance", Owl Dance, Scalp Dance, Arch Back (Limpi Dance), Canvas Dance, Tipi Dance, Coffee Dance, Calling-For-Tobacco Song, Prairie Chicken Dance, and Round Dance (see Owl Dance).

## CHAPTER TWO

### SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

#### Background:

The thesis "problem", because it is multi-faceted, must be viewed historically in an effort to place the various sub-problems in proper perspective. Available evidence or, more often, the absence of evidence constitutes a persisting inhibitor of clarity in the reconstruction of Upper Pend Oreille culture.

Prehistoric. The poverty of recorded data related to the cultures directly antecedent to the Upper Pend Oreille, presently and historically residents of western Montana, is rationalized succinctly by Martin et al (1947:461) in their consideration of the prehistoric situation in the Plateau per se:

Time perspective in prehistoric Plateau culture is almost completely lacking. At present it is relatively clear that this simple culture had existed largely unchanged for two or three centuries, or even longer, before the coming of the Whites. Its more primitive antecedents, or local cultures of other types, remain to be discovered.

Mythological inference affords an equally generalized explanation of the earlier whereabouts or geographical locus of the Pend Oreille. According to Teit (1930:321), a vague tradition indicated a belief that migration was responsible for a late prehistoric location east of the Plateau:

. . . tradition existed among the Pend Oreille to the effect that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake of ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country.

Historic. Evidence with respect to Upper Pend Oreille locus just prior to the historic period is more dependable. The Flathead,

Pend Oreille, and Kutenai were living east of the continental divide prior to white contact (Members 1958:109). The Kalispel or Pend Oreille were known to have traveled as far east as the Highwood Mountains, east of Great Falls, Montana (Teit 1930).<sup>1</sup> There the Upper Pend Oreille participated in the competition for bison.

Swanton (1952:399) provides a comprehensive statement of Upper Pend Oreille distribution prior to the reservation era:

The Upper Kalispel or Upper Pend Oreille were then located in Montana from Flathead River to about Thompson Falls on the Clark Fork of the Pend Oreille River, including the Little Bitterroot, southward about to Missoula and northward to the International Boundary, with bands at Flathead Lake, near Kalispel, at or near Dayton, near Polson at the foot of the Lake, and possibly one at Columbia Falls; some wintered on the Bitterroot and a large band was located at St. Ignatius.

Stevens (1901:79) observes that the Pend Oreille were divided into two bands, the Upper Pend Oreilles located on the Horse Plains and Jocko prairies and the lower Pend Oreilles located on the Clark's Fork. He thought of them as canoe Indians since they owned few horses.

Swanton (1952:399) states that "The greater part of the Kalispel settled here (Flathead Reservation), but part of the Lower Kalispel were gathered on the Colville Reservation with the Okanogan, Colville, and a number of other tribes." In 1905 there were 640 Upper Pend Oreille as well as 197 Lower Pend Oreille under the Flathead Agency. Mooney estimates there were 1200 Pend Oreille in 1780, Lewis and Clark 1600 in 1805, Teit 5000-6000, and the U. S. Office of Indian Affairs reported 97 enrolled in 1930 (Swanton 1952:400). The Kalispel or the Upper Pend Oreille greatly outnumbered the Flathead-Salish prior to the 1900's.<sup>2</sup>

Today. The Upper Pend Oreille thus became one of the three recognized ethnic groups to officially populate the Confederated

Salish-Kutenai Reservation. Subsequent inter-cultural discourse has tended toward a combination or mutual loss of many Upper Pend Oreille-Flathead Culture traits. They, like the Kutenai, are thought to exhibit cultural behavior typical of the Plateau area (Kroeber 1953).

The Flathead or Flathead-Salish or "Salish", as many people refer to themselves, and the Upper Pend Oreille speak mutually intelligible though dialectically variant Interior Salish (Connolly 1958). The Pend Oreille note minor differences between "Pend Oreille" and "Salish" with respect to a higher frequency of sibilants and aspirants in the latter. The adjacent Kutenai speak Kitunahan, an independent language thought to constitute (with its local variations) a linguistic family by itself. The Upper Pend Oreille, according to informant testimony, have successfully resisted pressures to learn Kutenai, but they admit of selective resistance. They have accommodated to the extent of learning Kutenai terms used in the stick game, for example, so as to compete on an equivalent basis. The Upper Pend Oreille allege, on the other hand, that Kutenai children often learn "Pend Oreille" as their primary language.

In general, it is possible to distinguish among ritual practices on the reservation along lines of linguistic difference. For example, the Kutenai perform a variant of the Plains Sun Dance while the Salishan speakers do not. The Kutenai also perform the Blanket Dance and the Blacktail Dance. In contrast, the Salishan groups sponsor and conduct the Mid-Winter Ceremony. Members of both groups commonly participate in these ceremonials, but each group maintains its respective ritual mandates.

Inhabitants of the Confederated Salish-Kutenai Reservation do not

seem as susceptible to nativist influx as do many of Montana's other reservation populations. My informants evidenced only a vague awareness of peyotism. It was reported that a few people had gone to meetings at Fort Hall while attending the Shoshoni Sun Dance. Their friends had warned them that they would be invited, "Don't go! You will have to eat things that will make you feel bad." They had gone to a drumming instead. Felicity Matt was reported to have gone to a meeting with the Shoshoni on the Wind River Reservation where she saw people "giggling and rolling around." Others were supposed to have been jumping around "like they were going crazy." Forbis also noted a basically avoidant attitude toward peyotism in the course of his study of the Flathead apostasy.<sup>3</sup>

The aboriginal economic cycle of gathering camas and bitterroot in the springtime, fishing, trapping, and hunting small and large game through the summer and into the late fall has been grossly modified. The reservation era brought with it a shift to an essentially farming-ranching-timber raising economy. Seasonal work provides the bulk of employment. Tribal resources constitute a variable and undependable source of individual income. Some individuals depend heavily upon trapping and hunting to maintain their families. A few women continue to smoke deer hides for the purpose of contributing tanned hides, moccasins, beaded purses and other native handicraft to the commercial traffic on and off the reservation.

Ethnography:

The Upper Pend Oreille are perhaps the most overlooked ethnic group occupying the intermountain zone between the Columbia Plateau and the Plains. A sequel to Teit's (1930:295-396) classic descriptive work



has yet to be written. General ethnographies on Flathead and Kutenai cultures (Turney-High 1937; 1941), have been completed since 1930.

Few writers since Teit have ventured into depth studies of selected Upper Pend Oreille culture elements, preferring usually to work within broader limits. Bahar (1955) is the notable exception in his essay comparing Flathead, Pend Oreille, and Kutenai kin terminological systems across generational levels. His treatment of the contemporary reservation social structure is not without its merit as an attempt to delve beneath the apparent homogeneity of kin systems, and to thereby revive interest in the possibility that cultural differences of even subtle proportions may have survived the encroachment of assimilation. Dusenberry (1959) published a short article presenting guardian spirit conceptions among the Upper Pend Oreille, in which appeared hints of persisting differences between Flathead and Upper Pend Oreille belief. These two sources and Jones' (1955:148) brief observations on Kalispel law contain, with the exception of the following works of a distinctly ethno-literary flavor, the latest published data on the Upper Pend Oreille.

Upper Pend Oreille Literature:

Teit had published earlier (1917:114-18) a few "Pend Oreille" narratives drawn exclusively from the Coyote cycle. Teit's were the earliest Pend Oreille data of an ethnographic character to appear, unless McDermott's (1901:240-51) few stories collected from the "Flat-head Indians of Idaho" be identified more accurately as those of the Lower Pend Oreille inhabiting that area. Hans Vogt (1940a) gathered the most extensive and dependable collection of folk texts among the Lower Pend Oreille near Newport, Washington, in 1937.<sup>4</sup>

In a context related less directly to Pend Oreille literature, Ray (1945:256) notes only four of many possible responses to mythical elements typical of Kalispel culture: "dangerous beings in lake, portentous spots on water and lakes, silence maintained, dangerous to all passers." Dusenberry (1958), having collected a number of personal-historical narratives from Upper Pend Oreille informants in the late 1930's, discussed that type of narrative in terms of its literary characteristics and also analyzed some of its stylistic peculiarities. That resume, then, is the composite view of published works dealing with Pend Oreille oral literature.

It should be explained at this point that the narratives mentioned above as well as most of those to be introduced later, with few exceptions, were collected as incidental research by-products. Early researchers, largely motivated by Boas, were concerned with the description and areal distribution of the numerous languages indigenous to the Northwest Coast and Plateau areas. Folklore was amenable as a convenient, readily abstracted, culturally circumscribed artifact from which the grammatical and phonological components of language could be extracted. Consequently, barring the obvious linguistic advantages of phonetic transcription and inter-linear translation, the resultant narratives were printed generally devoid of attendant data explaining the position of the narration complex in the life of the peoples studied. To be sure, the nearly literal translation created an invaluable, potential opportunity for describing the structural intricacies of a given traditional narrative body, but the option has been so infrequently exercised that its advantages hardly compensate for the loss.

Techniques utilized in folk narrative extraction and rendition

also present an irreconcilable variability; thus, the task of supplementing in any orderly way what is already known about the Upper Pend Oreille becomes at once an ambitious undertaking and a presumptuous one.

Limits Imposed by Assimilation:

Superimposed upon the less than satisfactory condition of published Upper Pend Oreille and other ethnically related literatures are the continuing effects of inter- and intra-cultural change upon cultural identities and their sub-cultural constituents. What may have been at one time characteristic of Upper Pend Oreille belief and behavior seems to have been largely submerged or re-formed in response to adjustment needs. Dusenberry (1959:54), for example, observes that ". . . over the years the Pend Oreille have lost their identity as a different group and through intermarriage have fused and become known only as the Flathead." Malouf and Phillips (1952) demonstrated the difficulty of tracing genealogies along clear ethnic lines in modern times. Forbis (1951), Malan (1948) and the Merriams (1955) have recorded numerous instances of social change and acculturation among the closely related Flathead.

Forbis (1950:5-6) observed, regarding the Indian culture in general on the reservation, that ". . . the mythology of the Indians has become obscured. Without an integral basis on which to hold their stories together, the base generally having been destroyed by the information of the whites, the myths no longer conform to any standard. They have become obscured and distorted." Boas (1918:281) noted the complex admixture and interchange of narratives that had occurred among tribes of the Plateau and Plains regions, with specific reference to the Kutenai:

The folktales of the Kutenai show intimate relations to the tribes of the plateaus as well as to those of the plains east of the mountains [Rocky Mountains]. A considerable number of tales are common to the Kutenai and the neighboring Salish tribes, particularly the Okanogan. There are also a considerable number of identical tales found among the Kutenai and Blackfeet.

Jacobs (1961:227) concurred with Boas by noting that among the Plateau and Plains Indians the same motifs, which diffused into those areas long ago, had been woven into plots that were simply narrations of a council of animals.

That the same or similar forces have been exerted upon the Upper Pend Oreille cannot be denied, nor can more acceptable hypotheses be advanced to explain the present state of cultural degeneration. The extent to which existing cultural sub-structures have managed to defer or resist forced change is difficult to determine. Ray (1939:14) and Turney-High (1935) evaluated some of the consequences of Plains influence upon Flathead social and political organization, as well as an accompanying effect upon their economic cycle. It remains for the religious complex to be examined as intensively, though Forbis (1950) did treat Flathead religious acculturation at a slightly more extensive level. The variable maintenance efficiency of the several mechanisms involved in the transmission of the narrative body also bears investigation.

#### Other Study Restrictions:

The legitimacy of ascribing elaborate cultural motives and meaning to narratives that have run the gamut of time and cultures and across languages for in excess of, at minimum, several centuries, poses a formidable question indeed. Thus, the generalizations and casual hypotheses presented in this study are offered with the hope that the reader can and will adopt a broad view of interpretive statements

proffered mainly for his information.

This collection of narratives is not known to represent reliably or otherwise a cross-section of the traditional narrative body in circulation among the Upper Pend Oreille, let alone a cross-section of the known and reasonably well regularized sets of narratives of other forms. Rather, it seems altogether probable that the narratives herein were selected, possibly in accordance with a system of forgotten requirements or in terms of a native semi-Christian conception of interviewer-interviewee moral expectations. Initial clues framing the desired points of departure undoubtedly played a small part in what actually transpired thereafter. The narratives gathered may actually constitute a somewhat atypical segment of remaining traditional literary forms in everyday use among the Upper Pend Oreille.

The imposed practice of discussing the narratives as those of the Upper Pend Oreille by the simple fact of informant experience and ancestry is a presumption. Attaching an ethnic label to a practice or folkway is tantamount to identifying the practice or folkway as the exclusive cultural property or legacy of the population whose identity is so assigned. The extent and intensity of Pan-Indian interchange is a well known contemporary phenomenon, and thus the traditional, conventional ethnographic device of labelling may tend to distort reality. The primary informant's self-professed ability to discriminate between narratives on the basis of their culture of origin and perpetuation remains to be tested.

The restricted quantity of informants raises further questions regarding the extent to which generalizations may be established at the cultural level. There seem to be two major rationale for estimating the

validity of using small segments of ethnic groups as the basis for wholesale cultural ethnographies. The most defensible view assumes that the numbers in a group have been so drastically reduced that the group is becoming culturally extinct; thus, the testimony of the remnant group suffices to describe the culture. The other view is not so easily traced, but it holds that primitive cultures are so homogeneous that every participant is equally knowledgeable about all life ways. This is not a completely tenable view, considering its low level validity in the face of known status and role differentiation by sex, age, and sociopolitical determinants.

To what extent we can expect an equally valid, stereotyped conception of an entire or partial life way by questioning any individual remains a function of the particular culture. If we can assume in the present case that raconteurs constituted a class of specialists, selection of a recognized narrator would be acceptable.

## Chapter Two

## Notes

- 1/ Some lack of agreement appears in the literature regarding the identity of the Tunaxa. Malouf (Members 1958:110) refers to the Tunaxa as being a branch of the Upper Pend Oreille who were located in the Sun River Valley, just west of Great Falls, Montana. White (1959:2) reported that "The Tunaxa were Kutenai living in the Plains east of the divide." Teit (1930:303) makes an ethno-linguistic distinction between the Salish-Tuna'xe and the Kutenai-Tuna'xe, a fact which apparently led to the foregoing disagreement.
- 2/ Chas Hutchins, Indian Service agent, reported census figures from the Montana Territory in 1865: 551 Flatheads, 908 Pend Oreille and 273 Kootenai (Report of the Commissioner of U.S. Indian Affairs, 1866, p. 244). Superintendent Medary reported 850 Pend Oreille, 350 Kootenai and 431 Salish in 1875 (Report of the Commissioner of U.S. Indian Affairs, 1875, p. 305).
- 3/ These observations were recorded in Forbis' field notes though they do not appear in his published work, (July 1949).
- 4/ Dr. Allen Smith, Washington State University, kindly loaned Hans Vogt's field notes (Kalispel texts) gathered in 1937. Dr. Smith, who accompanied Dr. Vogt during his eleven weeks in the field, has yet to publish his considerable Kalispel data.

## CHAPTER THREE

### UPPER PEND OREILLE RELIGION

#### Upper Pend Oreille Concepts Of The Supernatural:

A discussion of the folk narrative as a mere expression of tradition fails to place the narrative and the narration process in its most illuminating context. But, examination of the interaction between "myth", ritual, and the oral narrative is a thesis in itself;<sup>1</sup> thus only an oversimplified operational statement is offered. Interwoven within the structure of the oral narrative are thematic items and implications contrived by reference to man's conceptions of his relations with the supernatural, the past, and the present. Oral narratives reflect his behavioral adaptations by their conversion into narrative ritual forms. A high degree of correspondence may be expected between the content of oral narratives and the adaptive situational religious response. It is this closely knit integration that contributes to the reluctance with which myth and ritual forms flex under stress.

Teit (1930:383) reported a generalized "Flathead Group" conception of Pend Oreille cosmology from which it is difficult to extricate those beliefs which are characteristically Upper Pend Oreille. Coyote was thought to have been sent by Amótkan to create the world. The role of Amótkan, as opposed to that of his arch antagonist, Emtép, is clarified somewhat by later writers as they explored the belief structure surrounding the emergent period. According to Dusenberry (1959:56), the Upper Pend Oreille conceived of the supernatural in the remote past in the following manner:

The Pend Oreille knew long before the priests came that there were 'two things, one sitting at the bottom and one sitting at the



top'. They also knew that they should believe the one above, for he could take pity upon them at the time of their death and take them to the right place. To accomplish this fact, the One Above taught them a dance (Jumping Dance). At the conclusion of the dance, those whom the One Above had taught a song raised their right hands and prayed, not only for themselves, but for their children so that the One Below would not interfere with their destiny.

Turney-High (1937) relates a slightly more detailed set of clearly related beliefs:

Shining-Shirt, who was probably a Kalispel, powerful leader at one time, told the people that there was a God; His true name was not revealed, but he was temporarily called Amótkan, or He-Who-Lives-On-High. It is the peoples' duty to pray to him, especially the chief who must do this every morning and particularly at the Mid-Summer Festival. Amótkan in some way made the world and all the people, and to him all those who live good lives must return . . . Furthermore there is an evil goddess whose name is Emtép, She-who-lives-at-the-foot-of-a-tree. Emtép is the personification of all that is wrong, and therefore must not be prayed to, but feared and avoided. All those who lived bad lives will go to her land below the roots of the trees.

The all-pervasive, impersonal cosmic power that permeated the universe was known as a sumeš, or, as it is more popularly known, "sumesh". Turney-High (1937) noted that "sumesh" had been adopted to differentiate between "medicine" and the power concept.

Teit (1930:383) acquired testimony concerning conceptions of the soul related to the cardinal directions, a factor less apparent in the works of his successors:

Some Pend d'Oreilles think that souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of death and mystery.

Upper Pend Oreille religion is, in general, typical of the undifferentiated, individualistic Plateau type. Group ritual observances involve some public expression of individual powers by the many persons who acquire special powers from their personal guardian(s) during

solitary fasting quests at or before puberty. The few specialized "healers" are known as shaman and they possess exceptional powers and special wisdom; their rites are ordinarily performed privately.

A necessary prelude to the seasonal economic round is the invocation of the supernatural by the expression of group praying. Prayers are made for a bounteous berry and root crop as well as for plentiful fish in the streams and many deer and elk in the mountains. Root digging could not begin until prayers were offered, and until the officiants of each band gave the go-ahead. Prayers are made to preserve the health of all the people against sickness and disease.

It may be well to introduce at this junction a number of newly assembled observations which tend to elaborate upon one aspect of the persisting belief system pertaining to the sweathouse.<sup>2</sup> The belief structure, elusive though its relationships, may reveal a tieup between the remote past and the constantly changing present. Pete was often warned by the old men that the sweathouse was a sacred place in which "to pray, not play". Three divine personages (all one god)<sup>3</sup> were said to have been worshipped in the sweathouse:

- 1) Sweathouse, known variously as Tūpīe or Great-Grandfather,
- 2) Coyote (Tsincē/e), and
- 3) Fox (Qeḥūqahwa)

The details of the belief are vague, but there is further documented evidence that contends for the existence of Sweathouse as an important Upper Pend Oreille figure, possibly a deity. Vogt (1940a:91) cites a narrative in which Sweathouse (as Sleepy-Boy) outplays maneaters at the stick game, thereby enabling him to return to the people the possessions the maneaters had won from them. Upon so doing, Sweathouse declares, "All your things are going to be my things. If someone fixes

me, my fire, that will be my payment. If someone likes me, then he likes today (me, too!) the Sweathouse." The Kalispel informant continued, "That's why people today like the Sweat Lodge. And, today, you may sometimes see people well-dressed, but look, because I don't very often go to the Sweat Lodge, my garments are miserable."

Tūpīe occurs as Great Grandfather, the spirit of the sweathouse, in another Upper Pend Oreille narrative context.<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Beaverhead wrote expressing her and Pete's concern that the end of the world was being prophesized by certain non-Indian religious sects throughout the world. Pete related the following narrative under that stimulus. Its verbatim transcription demonstrates the intricate involvement of Indian and non-Indian belief.

#### The Story Of Toop Yea Or Great Grandfather

So much is being said about the end of life or the world by the white people and so many are so afraid, while the Indians say that no one on earth will have warning of any kind as they were told many hundreds of years ago by old Toop Yea or old Great Grandfather. "Now, I am going away. I will be out of sight for a long time. I shall not come back or be seen until the last day."

(This is the same thing as all our priests say. No one shall have warning; we are all to prepare for death or the last day, and if we want to be safe in Heaven, we should all be good and not try to have more than one another. We are to help whenever and wherever we can, never thinking of ourselves as above the next one. So Toop Yea said the same --- we are to get ready for the "Happy Hunting Grounds" as the white man says.)

As the story started there were four men [brothers] walking toward where the sun comes up. They were looking for sumesh or medicine because they desired to be medicine men. They started walking in the spring of the year. Summer was past. They left the mountains behind and the only trees they saw had leaves. The trees with needles they had passed. They came not to rivers and lakes but to many springs and they saw a tipi. When they stopped there a woman opened the door and an old man asked them to enter and sit down. The youngest brother sat nearest him and so on down the line to the eldest brother. The old man told his daughter to feed their visitors. She made balls of pounded dry meat and gave one to each man. All four men thought, "I am so hungry I will never have enough." But when they ate their dry meat they thought there

was no end to it and when they finished they felt like they had eaten a big meal. They were full and felt rested. So the old man told them, "Where you sit, that is where you will sleep."

Next morning he asked them, "What has brought you here? What are you looking for?" The youngest said, "I am looking for help so that I can live for hundreds of years and always be able to see far." The old man told him to go out of the tipi and stand on one side of the tipi door. He did so and turned into a great, straight, tall tree. The old man told him that a tree lives many hundreds of years and can always see far. Then he asked the next boy what he wanted. "Well, I want to be strong and live to the very last." So the old man had him go out and stand on the other side of the tipi door. He did and became a rock that never rots and lasts forever. Then he asked the third what he wanted. "I want to know all the medicines, the roots, leaves, bark, and berries and I want to know which will cure sickness, cuts and burns and also how to use each of them." So the last two men would learn all about medicine. The old man told the eldest brother. "You take my daughter back with you. She will teach you all about the medicine. But one thing I am going to tell you, she will be your wife. But for ten days after you leave here do not sleep with her. When she can be your wife." [Jo: I guess that is the forbidden apple.] The old man told them, "No human has ever seen me until you reached me. After you leave, no one will ever hear from me or see me again until the last day (or Judgment Day as the white man says)." The old man came out of the tipi with them and he called them to the little creek where he had a sweat-house. He told the two men how to make it, how to use it to ask Toop Yea for help in making medicine or to help them when they were sick. He would hear them and would know if they were sincere or if they were just saying the words. "When you fix your fire to heat the rocks, do not play or laugh at the sweathouse or you shall be punished. When you go in and are really in earnest in what you ask for, even if it seems like you could never get what you are asking for or could never do, your wish will be granted." Then they were told that the old man was Toop Yea or Great Grandfather.

So when they left to come home, the girl started to show them the leaves and what the medicine was used for. Each day they were taught the kinds and uses of every kind of flowers, bark and roots. On the ninth evening, the eldest brother told the girl, "Oh, we shall sleep together tonight. We will call it ten days." She tried to tell him that it was only nine days and that they had one more day to go. So his brother tried to tell him, "Wait one more day. That is not too long to wait." But he would not listen. She told him if he did not wait, she too would disappear like her father, never to be seen until the last day. But he would not mind. They went to bed together and he fell asleep as soon as he laid his head down. She was gone when morning came. So they lost the last day to learn about more medicine for new sicknesses. But they did make the sweathouse and knew about most medicines. So now we are waiting for Toop Yea to show himself and we will know it is the last day.

Mose Michelle, hereditary chief of the Pend Oreille, stated that

the sweathouse was given to the Indians by a monster who instructed them how to erect it and how to use it. When rocks are hot and the lodge is airtight, a person should get in and start to pray. He should pray to Old Boy ("man-on-top"). The sweat lodge is often referred to as "great, great grandfather". Songs and prayers are directed to him (Dusenberry 1937).

Less specific evidence is proffered by Ray (1939:124) in Table 2 - "Areal Distribution of Typical Aspects of Plateau Religious Life" where he lists 'Sweat House as deity' as an aspect present among the Flathead, Kalispel and Kutenai, though it was absent among the Nez Perce; no further elaboration was presented.

Today, many people believe in sweathouse beings, but most people use the sweathouse for cleansing rather than purification, except on special ritual occasions. Merriam (1955:16) noted in that regard that "It is questionable whether the sweathouse procedure has today, in most cases, a ritualistic or ceremonial significance. Most commonly it seems to be used as an aid in good health and cleanliness, and as a way of relaxing the body after arduous tasks. The younger generation generally seems to disregard the practice." The apparent discrepancy between belief and practice need not be alarming.

The role of Sweathouse as a physical entity possessing benevolent characteristics is portrayed vividly in narratives ID and IIA3; his malevolent, quick to retaliate personality set also appears.

Other indicators of Upper Pend Oreille response to the supernatural have been determined archeologically. Malouf (1961:6) reported that ". . . the Flathead seem to have made relatively little use of pictographs . . . The Pend d'Oreille, on the other hand, made very

extensive use of them. Hence, they are abundant at the great Pend d'Oreille centers: around Flathead Lake, northern Idaho, and in the Dearborn River country, between Helena and Great Falls, Montana."

Pete said, in this connection, "God put those [pictographs] on the rocks. He was trying to tell the people something but they couldn't understand it." He reported also that the sun always appears prominently in the vicinity of these writings, and that the people treat them the same as they do the Medicine Tree --- they pray to Sun for help and they give gifts of bread to the Medicine Tree and to the writings.

The Mid-Winter Ceremonial In Transition:

A more detailed look at one living facet of Upper Pend Oreille religious life, which contains some aboriginal reflection in conception and behavior, may help relate the foregoing data. Introduction to the Bluejay complex<sup>5</sup> or the Mid-Winter Ceremonial happened casually in the course of interviewing Mrs. Beaverhead in Pete's absence. A large 6" by 8" replica of a black widow spider was observed attached to the corner of the ceiling. Josephine explained that Pete had the power to cure sores caused by a spider throwing its young upon a person's face. She had been present on one occasion when a woman visited Harriet Andrews, Pete's daughter. The woman's face was one big sore. Harriet asked her if she had used white man's medicine, and the woman replied that she had not. Harriet referred the woman to Pete. He washed his hands with water and rubbed a root (haskus)<sup>6</sup> on his hands. He touched the woman's face and hands all over. He had to treat her twice, it was so bad, but the sore soon healed and disappeared. Not just any shaman could "doctor" any sickness; if a supernaturally unqualified shaman attempted to do so, he might catch the sickness himself. It was not possible to

determine whether this particular ability was a function of Pete's Bluejay capacity or whether it was one of a number given to him earlier by his spiritual helpers.

The Medicine Dance has been perhaps the most zealously guarded ritual observance on the reservation though the resistance with reference to ceremonial adequacy to attend may be a more recent development. To the informant's knowledge, Dusenberry was the only white man to have observed the ceremony approximately twenty years earlier.<sup>7</sup> Dire consequences were known to attend the revelation of ritual details to improperly prepared persons. One such incident was reported. An anonymous white person worked with Baptiste Pichette and his wife, Mary, attempting to commit Louie Hammer's personal Bluejay songs to print. The next winter, during the annual ceremonial, the Bluejays extinguished the fire. After it was re-ignited, several Bluejay shaman bumped Louie and knocked him down. He was incapable of speech. They had to "doctor" him, but he hung his head all night. Just several weeks before the next year's ceremony, he was struck by an automobile and killed. The driver of the vehicle was never identified.

An old leader of the Bluejay Dance, Tony "Buck" Finley, died in 1959. No big tent ceremony was held that year. Instead, small local groups held meetings in individual homes in mid-January. Four medicine singers gathered in the Beaverhead home: Pete, Mitch and Mary Small Salmon, and Louie Nine Pipes. John Adams was rumored to be an active Bluejay shaman, but he was not a participant.

Formerly, the people used to camp near the main tent no matter how severe the weather. Each participant was directed by his

guardian(s) as to the role he was to play in the ceremonial. Sponsorship of the meeting was a prerogative reserved to Bluejay shaman. Reduction of the ceremonial duration from eight, to four, and recently to a single day's worship seems to have occurred, at least under some local conditions.

An interesting narrative (IE) occurs in the present series which tends to validate by oral tradition the role of guardians in the medicine ceremony. The recency of the introduction of the Bluejay complex into the Winter Spirit ritual, estimated to have occurred around 1900, assists in the dating of the narrative in its local respects. This particular narrative is stylized essentially in as aboriginal form as the majority of other narratives collected. Its non-appearance in reported works disallows comparison through time and space.

The remnant forms of the Upper Pend Oreille traditional narrative which appear in the following chapter abound with reflections of religious attitude and behavior, however difficult the symbolism may be to relate to the known ethnographic reality.

The manifold but somehow integrated beliefs woven into the everyday life of the Upper Pend Oreille appear confusing to an individual inexperienced in reconciling even a single, reasonably coherent belief system. Coupled with the consequences of simple diffusion, the belief structure has also accommodated to a dominant force under the influence of intrusive Christianity. But, as Forbis (1950:101) aptly observed, "While Christianity has its sphere, the Guardian Spirit maintains its grasp."



## Chapter Three

## Notes

- 1/ The question of the relations between myth and ritual, a perennial thorn to religious theorists, has been generally laid to rest by Kluckhohn (Lessa and Vogt 1958:135). He concluded that there is no necessary primacy of myth over ritual, or vice versa. In some cases myths were composed to justify rituals. But in general there is a tendency for the two to be intricately inter-related and to have important functional connections with the social and psychological life of a particular people.
- 2/ Unless otherwise credited, data reported here were derived from the defined informant group. Cross-validation by other-informant group testimony was not feasible by reason of limits enumerated previously.
- 3/ The trinity allusion may represent a late adaptation. Nowhere in the variation of collections, including those narratives herein, do Coyote and Fox (possible but obscure situation in IIA3) occur simultaneously as characters with Sweat House. Coyote, however, always occurs as a primary actor in the presence of Sweat House in the Upper Pend Oreille narrative.
- 4/ Josephine Beaverhead (personal communication), February 1962.
- 5/ See Ray (1939:119-23) for an excellent description of the Flathead Spirit Dance.
- 6/ Turney-High (1937:30) mentions this root as hasx's in connection with an experience with a Flathead shaman who used it to bathe his hands and arms before curing Turney-High's headache.
- 7/ Claude Schaeffer mentioned in conversation (July 1960) that he had been privileged to attend a meeting on the Flathead Reservation in the mid-1930's, as I recall. His observations have yet to be reported.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### UPPER PEND OREILLE ORAL NARRATIVES

The following twenty-four narratives constitute the major portion of stories recovered in the field study. Other forms collected were of the non-traditional type, concerned as they were with events and personalities that occurred and who lived just prior to and during the historic period. Topics in the latter category were dependent for appeal essentially upon motives which were not supernaturally related; motives tended to be self-promoting rather than spiritually satisfying.

A subject resume indicates the variation among personal-historic narratives: (1) two stories dealt with hostile encounters with the Blackfeet (both Bloods and Piegan), and two dealt with encounters with the Sioux; events were focused upon the plains bison hunt and horse stealing, (2) one story related happenings during a marten trapping trip during the early 1900's, (3) one story told about a modern grizzly bear hunt, (4) two stories concentrated vaguely upon series of events that occurred in distant places within recent times; neither plot motives or content could be understood or related, and (5) one was an eyewitness version of the historic shooting at Swan Lake when the game warden was killed by reservation Indians. Short anecdotes and vignettes were offered frequently but were only recorded in fragmentary form, unsuitable for treatment.

#### Method:

The traditional narratives were organized in parallel with two criteria which are recognized and applied by conventional folklorists as critical taxonomic markers. The analytic distinction between "myth"

and "tale" involves awareness of an interplay among the factors of locus, time, and the presence or absence of active supernatural (physical entity or absent referent). Native taxonomy among the Upper Pend Oreille failed to differentiate between these varieties of the traditional narrative on these bases; all stories were true without difference by reason of content, location, narrative time, or supernatural affect. Reichard (1921:269), also, cites a contrary ethnic attitude for the Coeur d'Alene: "Myths relate incidents which happened at a time when the world had not assumed its present form, and when mankind was not yet in possession of all the customs and art which belong to our period. Tales are stories of our modern period." An almost converse judgment was also collected by Forbis (1950:50) among the Flathead:

Today the Indians separate that which is known as tradition from that which is known as mythology. Tradition is supposedly true; it represents information passed down from father to son verbally and is thought to have referred to an established fact. Mythology, on the other hand, is today considered as a collection of stories chiefly told for amusement. The assumption here is that mythology was, before the impact of white culture, regarded as tradition; that is, mythology was thought of as true.

The analytic distinction may prove inadequate as a means of distinguishing between remnant varieties of the traditional narrative. Indeed, the desirability of perpetuating the distinction may be superfluous. Perception of narratives as dynamic entities susceptible to influence by the statics and changes in related cultural institutions, irrespective of supernatural, cosmogenic or "explanatory" qualities, may yield a more informative array of concepts whereby to study the narration process. Use of this distinction may obscure rather than illuminate the essential quality of forms in the present culture setting. But, since it is the analyst's task to select the most apropos view, I

acceded to the obligation and selected definitions postulated by Paul Radin:<sup>1</sup>

Myth - an epic narrative that deals with the supernatural sphere, cosmic beings and gods. The action takes place in remote prehistoric time. The course of events is timeless and eternal. The scene of the drama is usually another world--heaven, netherworld, or other country. The myth gives instruction, therein confirming the social order and the cultural values of the ethnic group.

Tale - an epic narrative whose main personages move in a world of wonder which oscillates between the present and the past---that is, the supernatural sphere of the myth and the prosaic experience of everyday life. The actors are fictive figures or divinities or historical personages who are associated with more or less fantastic events. Their function is to chiefly supply entertainment and they need not be given credence. However, religious motives within the tale are usually considered true.

While each definition requires some qualification to adapt it to the particularities of these narratives, each category is sufficiently flexible and mutually exclusive to include all traditional narratives.

Classification might have proceeded on the basis of thematic patterns were it not for the heterogeneity of content and characterizations and the small sample. Instead, narratives were divided into two groups on the basis of the criteria proposed by Radin. The initial division allows recognition of the sacred-temporal-spatial triad. Group I includes those narratives which most closely fall into the category of myth, and Group II includes those with predominately tale characteristics. Further sub-division was not attempted on two counts: (1) the dearth of precision and coherence of definition apparent in the multitude of existing "taxonomies" propounded by various writers seemed to reflect not only the variable states of transition in which narratives had been studied synchronically, but also a very real confusion in the reality of myth-tale difference, and (2) increasingly smaller sub-

divisions would have been of negative utility, because of the likelihood that the resulting breakdown would have failed to reflect any meaningful social reality by "classes of one". Capital letters preceded by the numeral II denote a series of narratives in which a common actor plays a prominent role. Small numbers following the capital letter simply list in arbitrary sequence those narratives in which the same actor occurs.

Paragraphing was avoided in the rendition because it is a mechanical device used to denote division of ideas in written literatures. Present knowledge of Upper Pend Oreille narrative tactics disallows the assumption of a common habit; the readability has not been seriously impaired.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the twenty-four narratives in this chapter, Pete vaguely recalled parts of another story in the coyote cycle. Ten witches (different forms of the same witch) had the ability to suck people in to kill them from miles away. Coyote became incensed and brought about their (its) destruction.<sup>3</sup>

#### Orthography:

The simplified orthography adapted herein bears some technical resemblance to that developed by Hans Vogt (1940a,b) for the Interior Salish, as exemplified by the Kalispel, Spokane, and Coeur d' Alene. However, dialectical variation assumed to have occurred by reason of geographic separation and local re-development, other orthographies derived from the study of local Salishan were given superior consideration (Giorda 1887-89; Connolly 1958). Little inconvenience should attend the comparison of Upper Pend Oreille terms expressed phonetically in this paper. The gross phonetic distinctions are essentially reliable

when reproduced vocally, as testified by the Salishan speakers consulted.

The following symbols denote the major vocoid and contoid differentials in Upper Pend Oreille Salish; closely equivalent English consonants stand for sounds other than those specifically set forth below.

Vowel Forms

é as the "a" in English "fate"  
 e as the "e" in English "step"  
 a as the "a" in English "star"  
 ū as the "u" in English "butte"  
 u as the "u" in English "fun"  
 o as the "o" in English "goat"  
i as the "i" in English "hit"  
 i as the "i" in English "elite"

Consonantal Forms

χ as English "cl" in "cloak"  
 ʎ as the phoneme "tl"  
 ɖ as the phoneme "dl"  
 š as the "sh" in "shoot"  
 č as the "ch" in "chat"  
 q as the "qu" in "quick"  
 k as the "k" in "kick"  
 z as the "z" in "craze"  
 th as the "th" in "that"

Narrative Rendition:

Upper Pend Oreille Narratives<sup>2</sup>

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IA The Origin Of The Seasons

There were four Cold Birds (Kohomīne) camped near Columbia Falls. They were three brothers and their sister and they were camped on the east side of the river. There were four Warm Birds (Statlemtkū) camped on the west side of the river. They were three brothers, the wife of the oldest, and their  
5 grandmother. The river ran southward and only the east half of it was frozen. The Cold Birds were unhappy with that. The oldest thought that the river should be all frozen and it should be winter all the time. He decided to have a contest to decide whether it should always be cold or always be warm. He went across the river and told the oldest Warm Bird  
10 that they were going to have a contest that night. He selected a place in the river. From there they were to run down the river to a place where there was no ice. They were to start from their tipis and whoever got past the open water without falling in would be the winner. The oldest from one side was to race the oldest from the other side down through the fami-  
15 lies. Warm Bird agreed to move his warm water downstream a short way so that they could race on ice. Just before the sun went down the two oldest drew a line and then they raced downriver very fast. Cold Bird ran on the west side. He waited until Warm Bird was alongside and then he pushed him into the hole in the ice. He drowned. The next night the next  
20 oldest men ran. The Cold Bird won again, and again on the third night. Grandmother told the wife of the oldest Warm Bird to be very careful as she was pregnant when she ran against the Cold Bird sister. But the sister pushed her under the ice. Instead of sinking like the others she rolled along under the ice. Then the Cold Birds made a blizzard that filled  
25 Flathead Lake with ice. Bullhead lived near Polson. He had fish traps set and the dead woman got caught in one of them. When Bullhead found her he knew she had been going downstream. He took her back to his camp to see why she had died. He saw that she was pregnant and the child was moving. He cut her open and wrapped the baby. Bullhead put the baby in  
30 some cool water but the baby didn't like it. He liked the warm water. In four days he could stand up and in four more days he was talking. He called Bullhead "Grandmother." One day he told Grandmother, "Tomorrow, you make a hole in the ice. I want to take a bath." When he jumped into the water the ice cracked all the way across the lake. The next morning he  
35 jumped into the water and broke the ice as far as the islands in the lake. The third time, the ice cracked all the way up to Somers. Then he asked Bullhead, "Do I have a father? Who is my mother?" Grandmother told him, "The Cold Birds killed your father, your mother, and two uncles, but you still have a great-grandmother. She may still be alive." Bullhead named  
40 baby, Stkūattele (Baby-Out-Of-Cut-Open-Woman). Grandmother told him, "Your Great-grandmother's camp is at Columbia Falls." "I'm going there now, said Baby. "The only way that I can help you is to tell you what you must do. You will have to race with the Cold Birds. I'll give you some rouge (red Ochre). When you race they will put you on the open water side. When  
45 you get to where they pushed your father in they will push you. Then put some rouge on the ice. It will stop you and you can push the Cold Bird under the ice. Then you will have to race with the other Cold Birds. Use the paint the same way and push them under the ice." Stkūattele's Great-



grandmother had nearly frozen to death. When the Cold Birds had won every-  
 50 thing they had gone to her tipi and had taken away all her dry wood. They  
 had put wet wood instead on her fire and had let it burn very slowly. She  
 was told to stay there until she died but she had power and had stayed  
 alive. When she went outside that morning she saw that the clouds were  
 getting thinner and longer. She cried, "Whenever my grandchildren are  
 55 coming home the clouds look like that." She knew she now had no grand-  
 children. Why was warm weather coming? She went back into her tipi and  
 put blankets and quilts around herself to get warm. A boy came in after  
 she had sat down. She didn't know him and asked, "Who are you? What is  
 your name?" He told her, "Stkūattele, that is my name. Statlemtkū was  
 60 my father. Why haven't you a fire?" She answered, "Every morning the  
 Cold Birds come in. They are waiting for me to freeze and have allowed  
 me no fire." He wasn't in the tipi long when the icicles began to melt.  
 He gathered up some dry wood and built a roaring fire. He asked, "Do you  
 have anything to eat?" She said, "I had something to eat but it is frozen  
 65 now." He told her, "When Cold Bird comes in in the morning and asks you  
 why you have a fire you tell him that you didn't make it. Tell him that  
 Stkūattele made it." When the Cold Birds went out of their tipis that  
 morning they saw the chinbok signs. They couldn't understand it because  
 they had taken everything over. They went into the old woman's tipi and  
 70 she was very sassy. They wondered why she was so brave. While they were  
 asking her about the fire, Stkūattele came in. He told them to sit in the  
 back of the tipi so he could talk with them. He sat by the door. The  
 heat didn't agree with them. He said, "This evening the oldest and I will  
 race. You men and your woman stay here. None of you come out. By the  
 75 fourth night I will be through with you." That evening he called the  
 oldest out and they raced. When they were near the open place Cold Bird  
 began to crowd him. But Stkūattele spilled his paint and stopped, caus-  
 ing Cold Bird to drown. During the next three evenings he killed the rest  
 of them. Then he had the warm weather go around and melt the ice every-  
 80 where. He picked up the bones of his family and took them to his great-  
 grandmother's tipi. He covered them with his blankets and jumped over  
 them four times. They came to life. Then he made a law that Cold could  
 not control all the weather. When it got cold the Cold Birds could enjoy  
 themselves high up in the mountains. Stkūattele's father would from then  
 85 on be called Winter, his older uncle would be called Spring, his younger  
 uncle, Summer, and his mother, Fall. Each were to have three months of  
 rule. That is all.

#### IB Bobcat And Lynx

Two chiefs, Bobcat and Lynx, who were brothers, were camped in a clearing  
 near the edge of a river. Every day they took the men out hunting. They  
 drove the deer into a brush corral and killed them. That way they always  
 had plenty to eat. One day an argument began. A man said that they were  
 5 always successful because Bobcat was the best medicine man. Another said  
 Lynx was smarter and soon the whole camp argued. So the chiefs were called  
 together and were asked, "Whose wisdom gave us all these deer?" Bobcat  
 said that it was his smartness, but Lynx said, "No, it is mine. If it  
 weren't for me you wouldn't have all these deer." They argued back and

10 forth until Lynx said, "Well, I'll move camp. We'll see whose children  
go hungry, yours or mine." The next day Bobcat and his people went hunt-  
ing, but they came home with no game. Soon they had used up all their dried  
meat and they went hungry. Bobcat said, "Tomorrow we won't go hunting.  
We will look for Lynx. Those of you that can fly, fly as far as you can.  
15 You that have to walk go up all the canyons and mountains and find Lynx's  
camp." Soon all those that flew returned and all those who walked came  
back. They hadn't found Lynx. So Bobcat said, "We'll cut a hole in the  
ice. Then we'll cut one of our children open and lay him by the hole.  
Lynx has a white raven who is very smart. He can see long distances and  
20 watches us here. We can't see him because he is white, but he will come  
to this carcass." Coyote said, "Cut me open and lay me there." They did  
so and told him that he must lay quiet and not move. All the people laid  
around as though they were dead. White Raven came and thought they had  
all starved to death. He saw Coyote laying there by the water hole and  
25 decided to go down after his eyes. He flew down and sat on a tree near  
Coyote, cawing and shouting, to make sure everyone was dead. Then he  
flew down to Coyote and pecked hard at his heel. Coyote shouted and  
jumped up. Raven flew away and Bobcat held another meeting. He asked,  
"Who shall we open up now?" Beaver said, "Open me up and lay me there."  
30 They did and Raven came back. He saw the camp was dead. He flew down to  
the tree next to Beaver and cawed loudly. Then he pecked at Beaver's  
heel. Beaver didn't move and Raven poked at his eye and pulled it out.  
When he raised his head to swallow, Beaver grabbed his feet. When Beaver  
cried out the whole camp rushed down and tied up Raven. They built a big  
35 fire in a tipi and plugged all of the holes. The fire was of pitch and  
Raven turned black in a short while. Then they let him go and Bobcat said,  
"Now, watch and see where he goes." Raven went straight up until he  
thought he was out of sight and flew west. He flew down to Lapway, north  
into Canada, and headed south again. Then Bobcat and his people could see  
40 the smoke from Lynx's camp nearby. Bobcat told his hunters, "Be still.  
You all stay here in camp. Tonight I will go to my brothers. Only my big  
dog will go with me." When he came to the camp he saw that all were living  
in a long tent. He told his dog to cry loudly. Lynx knew the dog's cry  
and said, "Well, they are all dead now." He sent Magpie to get the dog.  
45 Lynx knew his brother was very smart. That was why they were all living  
in one tent where he could protect his people. Magpie sang on his way up  
the hill. Bobcat told his dog, "Open your mouth and swallow me. Magpie  
is coming." Magpie tied his rope around the dog's neck and led him back  
to camp. Inside the tent they had to go all the way around until they  
50 reached the Chief. Bobcat watched the people. There was one of every  
kind of person there. Lynx told Beaver to go after water. Beaver sang  
his song and brought the water back in. Singing, he put the water in  
front of Lynx. Then Lynx lifted up his bedding and sent a hunter after  
a deer. The deer were running around in a hole under the tent. The hunter  
55 brought a deer back, cleaned and skinned. Lynx told the wolf, Ntetlane,  
"You get the first bite before the dog." The meat was wrapped around a  
hot stone to cook. Lynx took the stone and pretended to throw it at Ntet-  
lane. He didn't flinch. The next time, Lynx hit Ntetlane in the mouth,  
knocking him down. When the meat had cooled it was given to the dog.

60 The dog began whining after it had eaten and Lynx told Magpie to take him  
 outside for awhile. The dog kept going, dragging Magpie along. Magpie  
 let go when he was almost bitten. Bobcat divided the meat among his starv-  
 ing people and told them what he had seen, "He is smart, but I know now  
 how he does it. He has the deer all put away. Tomorrow we will go after  
 65 them." The next night Lynx heard the dog crying and sent Magpie out.  
 Bobcat and his hunters killed Magpie and their Magpie took the dog back.  
 He looked at all the people when he entered the tent. Lynx asked, "Why  
 did you do that? Why did you look at everybody?" Magpie said, "I was  
 lonely after being out in the dark." But Lynx said, "When you were out in  
 70 the dark you stopped suddenly. Why did you stop singing, too?" "Oh, that  
 was nothing. Something fell in my eye." Then Lynx sent Beaver after  
 water and he was killed. The other Beaver was sent back inside. As each  
 person went outside for something they were killed and replaced. Lynx sent  
 his hunter after a deer. He knew something was wrong. He pretended to  
 75 throw the rock at Ntetlane who didn't dodge. When Lynx threw the rock  
 Ntetlane ducked and it burned across the side of his mouth. That is why  
 old wolves have that grey streak there. Lynx said, "I see that my people  
 are all gone. These people here all belong to my brother." Then Bobcat  
 came out of the dog. He stuck his medicine stick into the ground in front  
 80 of Lynx and tore the ground up. The deer ran out leaving a few behind.  
 Then Lynx stuck his medicine stick into the ground and some more fell back  
 in. He jumped into the hole, too. Bobcat didn't get to kill his brother,  
 but said, "Let him go. He isn't my brother anymore anyway. Now we won't  
 even look alike. From now on there will be lynx and deer on top of the  
 85 ground and there will be lynx and deer under the ground." That is all.

#### IC Black Bear And Badger

Black Bear and Badger were the two chiefs in a camp one winter. One day  
 they talked about Grizzly Bear, about how mean and stingy he was among the  
 rest of the people. They decided that something had to be done so they  
 hid all the wild berries and Grizzly's other foods. When Grizzly woke  
 5 from his long sleep he would starve and would no longer steal the people's  
 food. When spring came, Grizzly came out and looked for his food. He  
 looked and looked everywhere and found neither food nor people. He knew  
 they were all hiding from him. He became very sick, and tired of walking  
 and looking. He came to a river and saw Crab standing waste-high in the  
 10 water, singing and catching fish with his one claw. Grizzly yelled at him  
 but Crab ignored him, singing and fishing with his one claw. Grizzly was  
 very mad. He insulted Crab and called him names until Crab stopped sing-  
 ing and hooking fish. He said, "Here now, Grizzly, you can't talk like  
 that to me. The people have all deserted you and have taken your food.  
 15 You are supposed to have powerful medicine and know everything. Here you  
 are trying to scare people. You are a fake." Grizzly shouted, "When  
 Grizzly Bear gets insulted he does something about it. He will hurt you  
 if you don't show respect for him." Crab said, "Go ahead, see if you can  
 hurt me. You will have to swim across this river unless you are afraid.  
 20 Come on and get me, come on." So Grizzly jumped into the river and began  
 swimming across. Crab ducked under the water and grabbed Grizzly's feet.  
 He pulled Grizzly under until Grizzly nearly fainted. Grizzly shouted that

he would give Crab anything if he would let him go. After he had rested he told Crab, "You have only one claw to spear fish. Take my smallest  
 25 claw, put it on your hand, and you will catch fish easier." Crab did that and could pinch fish. He liked his new claw, and Grizzly said that now Crab must tell him where the people were if he wanted to keep it. Crab said, "I thought you knew. Listen! Can't you hear them up in that draw talking and yelling?" So Grizzly left there and went over the ridge.  
 30 On the south side he saw berry bushes bent to the ground with over-ripe berries. He ate and ate until he fell asleep. When he woke he looked for Black Bear who he thought had tried to kill him. He chased all the people he saw and killed Black Bear's wife. The people in camp were playing a game of rolling-on-the-ground. Black Bear was told that Grizzly was coming and that Grizzly had killed his wife. Grizzly came around  
 35 a tipi and said loudly, "Grizzly's coming around the tipi." People there screamed and ran. Grizzly feared Badger because when he looked at the marks on Badger's forehead and body it gave him shivers. He was surprised when he saw Badger standing beside Black Bear as his partner. So he began  
 40 backing up trying to appear gentle and kind, and saying, "I didn't mean anything bad for you." Badger said, "Now, Grizzly, you know you cannot run away from me. You know that no distance is too far for me. I can get there as fast as you can. There is no use running." But Grizzly ran and ran toward where the sun sets. After many hours he lay down to rest, but  
 45 when he closed his eyes he saw Badger standing over him about to loose an arrow at him. He quickly opened his eyes but there was no one there. He ran and ran and ran. He lay down to rest but saw Badger about to kill him. He jumped up and ran but there was no one there. The fourth time he saw Badger he didn't get up and run. He opened his eyes and saw  
 50 Badger about to shoot him. Grizzly reached out to shake hands, saying, "Oh, Mr. Badger, my very good friend. How are you? Where have you been? Nice to know you're walking around in this part of the country. Let me shake your hand." Badger scolded and swore at Grizzly and shot him until he died. The people decided that berries should grow everywhere from then  
 55 on and Grizzly Bear would no longer scare people away from the berry patches. That is all.

#### ID The Flying Head

There was a big camp. One morning Coyote went to the Chief's tipi. Chief told him, "When we woke this morning our young daughter was not here. We don't know where she has gone. Tell all the young men to come to my tipi."  
 5 After Coyote had brought them, Chief asked if any of them had taken his daughter. None of them had. Chief said, "I want all of you to go out and hunt for her. She will be his wife whoever finds her." They began coming back that evening, the runners first and later the flyers. No one had found her. The next morning Chief told Coyote to bring all the men to his tipi again. He told them to go out again and they said they had already  
 10 looked everywhere. Coyote said, "There is one who didn't go looking for her. That is Magpie." Chief sent for him and said, "Yesterday you did not go hunting. Today you will go." Magpie answered, "The boys can all stay home. I will hunt alone. I don't want to marry her. If I find her I will only bring her back." He flew east over three mountain ranges and

15 saw smoke. He landed on the third mountain and walked down. He found a  
 tipi, sneaked close and peered inside. The girl was sitting there with  
 Skadiokn (Note: a bodiless being, an evil witch) on her lap. Magpie  
 walked back up the mountain, flew back to camp and said, "I found her.  
 Skadiokn took her." Chief called the camp together and told the men again  
 20 that whoever outsmarted Skadiokn could marry his daughter. Most of the  
 boys thought they weren't smart enough. Four brothers said they would go.  
 They were White Owl, the youngest, Owl, Eagle, and Osprey, the oldest.  
 Coyote built a stone wall that ran from coast to coast between the last  
 two mountain ranges. He made holes near the top of each wall that stretched  
 25 far into the sky. When he got back to camp he built a sweat lodge of red  
 stone. Coyote said, "There will be two doors in it. Go in the front one  
 and out the back. The front door will close when Skadiokn is inside. Get  
 him back here if you can, White Owl. Go way up high on each wall so you  
 will know how to get back. When you come to the third mountain range walk  
 30 down, and sneak to the tipi." White Owl did that and whistled softly at  
 the girl. She saw him and said, "Oh, what a beautiful boy." She told  
 Skadiokn, "I will lay you down for awhile. I must go outside." White  
 Owl took her, walked a ways and flew away. Skadiokn waited, went out and  
 saw them far above. He flew up very, very fast, hit White Owl and killed  
 35 him. Coyote knew that White Owl had been killed so he sent Owl. (Both  
 Owl and Eagle are killed, each coming progressively closer to escaping.  
 Exactly the same sequence is repeated in each instance.) Coyote sent  
 Osprey, saying, "Do your best. There will be red-hot rocks in the sweat-  
 house and everything will be ready." This time the girl wrapped Skadiokn  
 40 in a buffalo robe as tightly as she could. Osprey didn't sneak away but went  
 straight up. Skadiokn tore up the robe to free himself. Osprey waited  
 up high instead of going through the hole in the wall. Skadiokn went  
 through the hole expecting to see Osprey ahead of him. Then Osprey dived  
 down and barely got ahead of Skadiokn. Osprey flew through the second wall  
 45 and into the sweathouse, Skadiokn right behind him. The front door closed  
 and Coyote slammed the back door. Skadiokn rolled around and knocked the  
 water over on the hot rocks. He exploded. Coyote gathered his dead  
 people together and revived them. Osprey married the girl. After sev-  
 eral days blisters appeared on the tips of her smallest fingers. Osprey  
 50 cut them open and two little Skadiokns rolled out onto the bed. In a few  
 days they were much bigger. The other children played with them and kicked  
 them around. They banged the children too hard in return and killed them.  
 They would fall into people's cooking pots and eat all the food. The people  
 became hungry and Chief told Coyote, "Maybe you could kill them." "No, but  
 55 I know who could. Rattlesnake is camped across the river. I'll tell  
 him." He asked Rattlesnake who agreed, but said, "I won't begin until you  
 leave." Then he began singing. He scraped some of his scales off into a  
 pot. Singing still, he put the pot on the fire. The Skadiokns knew he  
 was cooking so they jumped into the pot and ate it all up. They went back  
 60 across the river and laid down. The children wondered why they wouldn't  
 play. The smaller one bounced about and burst. Soon the big one burst and  
 they both turned to ashes. If it wasn't for Coyote the world would be  
 full of Skadiokns. That is all.

## IE Mountain Lion and Coyote

Coyote and his four sons lived at the bottom of the mountains. Mountain Lion lived with his people high up on the mountain peaks. He was the keeper and guardian of all the animals. During the mid-winter month all the people were singing and chanting their medicine songs and erecting medicine lodges.

5 One night Coyote's youngest son thought, "My, it would be wonderful to be a medicine man. I could see into the future and overcome hardships." So he sang like a medicine man there in his tipi. Mountain Lion heard him singing and imitating the medicine men. He called all of his people together and asked, "Have any of you spoken to that young Coyote to give

10 him the right to do what he is doing?" All the animals said, "No!" So he ordered Bluejay to poke a hole in young Coyote's head with his sharp beak. Bluejay sneaked up on him, killed him, and fled to the peaks. (This sequence is repeated without variation over a period of the next three days during which the three other young Coyotes are destroyed.)

15 On the fifth day Coyote called his own guardians. Each of them agreed to become something: a huge medicine lodge, a fire, ground below the lodge, a sweathouse, food, clothing, and people to fill the lodge. Then Coyote sat in the center of his lodge and began singing medicine songs. Mountain Lion heard him and asked his people, "Did any of you talk to Coyote and

20 give him the right to do these things once a year?" All the animals looked at one another, asked each other, and denied it. Mountain Lion shook his sacred stick and ordered Bluejay to kill Coyote. Coyote's song was saying, "Now Mountain Lion just stood up and shook his sacred stick at me and ordered Bluejay to kill me." Upon hearing that Mountain Lion

25 again asked his people if any of them had spoken to Coyote. They said they were all very certain. Bluejay saw the huge lodge and was surprised to see all the people. He entered the lodge just as Coyote threw his medicine stick. It hit Bluejay in the head. Bluejay moaned and hurried back up the mountain. His wings flapped hard because he hardly knew what

30 he was doing. He appeared before Mountain Lion, saying, "Coyote surprised me. Someone must have told him." Mountain Lion asked his people, "Now, come. Whoever spoke to Coyote speak up for the benefit of all of us here." Everyone denied it. Then Mountain Lion sang his song, shook his sacred stick and sent Muskrat to kill Coyote. Muskrat said, "I will go under

35 the ground and come up in front of him. I will strike at him from his drinking pot there in the center of the lodge." While that was going on Coyote was singing, "Now Mountain Lion has sent Muskrat to kill me." Muskrat came up in Coyote's pot of water, but Coyote had broken up the fluffy end of some cattails into the pot. Muskrat couldn't see. Coyote held his

40 sacred stick high and when Muskrat cleared his eyes, Coyote hit him on the head. Muskrat moaned and sank out of sight. When he returned to his people he told everyone loudly that they had better tell the truth about Coyote. Mountain Lion stood beneath the sacred tree, pointed his stick at the people and said, "Tell me who spoke to Coyote. Why is it that Coyote knows every-

45 thing that goes on here? Which one of you spoke with him?" But no one knew. Coyote was still singing and gesturing with his sacred stick. Mountain Lion prepared Beaver to kill Coyote. He heard Coyote singing that Mountain Lion was sending Beaver down to kill him. He asked his people for the last time if any one had talked with Coyote, and they denied it.

50 Mountain Lion knew that this would be their last chance to control Coyote. So he sang and purified Beaver and all the people prayed to help him. Beaver said, "I will go down the creek and sneak to Coyote from the water hole in the ice." He swam quietly under the ice. As he poked his head out of the water, Coyote hit him between the eyes. Beaver was shocked  
 55 and returned to his people. Mountain Lion told his people that now they must go down to Coyote's lodge and feast with him and his people. Coyote knew they were coming and dimmed the fire. The people ate in the dark and then went back to the mountains. Coyote's people disappeared and so did everything else. Then his sons came back to him. All of this had taken  
 60 place during one night. That is all.

#### IIA1 Coyote And Buffalo Bull

Coyote was walking along a flat. He came to a small river and went upstream. He found a big patch of chokecherries and was very hungry. When he got there he saw where Grizzly had already been eating cherries. "You old small eyes, turned up nose, small ears. You're so ugly." So he went around  
 5 the patch because he wouldn't eat after Grizzly. Grizzly was laying in that patch and he heard Coyote. Coyote went right on by, thinking, "I'll find myself a clean patch." He found a clean patch but Grizzly was watching. Coyote pulled down the bushes and ate. Grizzly sneaked up on him and grabbed him from behind. Holding Coyote tightly, he asked, "What did  
 10 you say about me when you found that first berry patch?" Coyote answered, "Oh, yes, I remember. I was saying that my partner, Grizzly, had already found that patch." "No, you didn't say that." Coyote pretended to faint. He suddenly hit Grizzly with his elbow and jumped loose. Coyote shouted, "What are you going to do about it?" and ran towards the flats. Grizzly  
 15 shouted back, "Where do you think you can go that I won't find you? I will keep after you until I kill you." But Coyote kept on running until he became very tired. He looked back and saw Grizzly catching up to him. He saw a big rock and ran around it, Grizzly right behind him. He saw a pile of buffalo bones and he tried to grab the horns as he ran by. The next  
 20 time around he grabbed them up and held them to his forehead. He stopped and faced Grizzly, pretending the horns were his own. Grizzly stopped, surprised, and sat down. Coyote told him, "I am a buffalo. I can turn myself into a buffalo and kill you." He jumped at Grizzly and Grizzly jumped far back. Then Coyote bellowed like a mad buffalo and chased Griz-  
 25 zly, saying, "I'll catch up to you. I'll never give up. I'll kill you before I quit." He chased Grizzly back to the river and Grizzly swam across. Coyote laughed loudly. Grizzly sat down, took off his moccasins, and clothes, and hung them up to dry. Then he sat in the shade and watched Coyote making fun of him. Then Coyote put his horns to his head and pawed  
 30 the ground, raising a lot of dust. He started into the river and Grizzly grabbed his clothes and ran out of sight. Coyote thought, "Well, I will hold onto these horns and go back to that pile of bones. I might be able to find something to eat there." He went back and broke all the leg bones. They were all dry and there was nothing in them. He threw the bones in all  
 35 directions. "I suppose you died of starvation. I thought I would get something to eat here." Then he started walking. He was on top of a hill and looked back on his trail. He saw something far away coming behind

him. Soon he could see it was a buffalo bull. Coyote thought, "It seems that he is following my tracks. I will find out." There was another  
40 hill not far away. Between these hills he ran in a circle. Then he climbed the second hill to watch. Buffalo came along and he, too, made that circle. Coyote ran to the bottom of the hill and sat down quickly. He wished to Sun to bring him a pipe and some tobacco because he was afraid Buffalo wanted to kill him. He closed his eyes and wished, "I want you to give me  
45 one of those red pipes that the chiefs use and some tobacco and I want it right in front of me. You will have to light the pipe so that I can smoke." He was facing the sun with his arms raised and eyes closed. He felt something being placed in front of him. The pipe and tobacco were there. There were four eagle feathers tied to the pipe. Buffalo reached  
50 him just as he finished putting tobacco in the pipe. Coyote turned the pipe toward Sun and Sun lit it. Coyote said to Buffalo, "Now, sit down and smoke. When the time comes that there are people and they have wars they will always have to smoke before they can have peace. It will be very important." Buffalo believed him and smoked. When he saw the pipe he  
55 knew it was the kind that only a chief could own. Coyote said, "I am glad that you smoked. Now tell me why you were mad at me and why you chased me." Buffalo answered, "Once I had a big family and a bull from another herd came over. We fought and I was killed. I was already tormented and you came along and said that I must have starved and made fun of my bones.  
60 That's why I came after you. The one that killed me was smart and strong. His name was Four-Year-Old-Buffalo." Coyote said, "I will help you. You face the sun and close your eyes. Raise your arms to the sun." Coyote did the same and said, "I want you to give me a bow, four arrows, and four  
65 cottonwood trees standing up right here in front of me." They felt something being placed in front of them. Coyote said, "We'll go to that bunch of trees over there on the hill. We'll leave our weapons here." When they got there he looked around and saw a fir stump. He kicked all the rotted wood away. He took out the pitch and shaped it into shiny buffalo horns. He took Buffalo's horns off and put these in their place. Coyote told  
70 him, "If we're able to kill Four-Year-Old-you will be called by that name. You dig up the dust. Make it go as high as you can." Buffalo dug so hard that the dust went up like a cloud. Coyote said, "Now, watch. You might see another cloud like that." Out on the prairie on the other side of the hill dust started coming up. "That's Four-Year-Old making that dust,"  
75 said Coyote. It wasn't long before they saw him coming up the hill. Coyote said, "You had better get ready. As soon as he gets here you start to fight. Do your best and we can kill him." Coyote climbed the first tree with his bow and arrows. The fight began. As soon as Four-Year-Old stood sideways to him Coyote shot him. But he just butted the tree over. Coyote  
80 jumped to the next tree and shot from there. (This sequence is repeated without variation until Coyote has shot the fourth arrow and the fourth tree has been butted over.) That gave more strength to Buffalo and they soon killed Four-Year-Old. Coyote said, "I'm glad we finally killed him. You won his name. Now, we'll go from here. We'll go to the place where  
85 your enemy came over the hill." When they got there they looked down and saw a large buffalo herd. Coyote said, "There are quite a few bulls down there. How are they toward you?" "I have beaten them all." When they reached the herd Buffalo said, "You can pick out one of the cows for your



wife now." Coyote looked them over for a very fat one. He thought he would  
 90 get her out somewhere and eat her. So he picked out a very fat, old cow.  
 Buffalo told her, "You must go wherever Coyote wants you to go." As they  
 were walking along Coyote saw a pass ahead and he told his wife, "Go over  
 that pass and you will come to a creek. We'll camp there. I'm going to  
 go around this way and hunt for antelope. After she started out he ran  
 95 to get ahead of her. He hid and waited until the sun went down. She didn't  
 appear. He looked down toward the creek and saw a tipi down there. He  
 watched awhile and saw Buffalo Cow there. The next morning he told her,  
 "We'll go on from here." Cow took down the tipi. She folded everything  
 and put it in her parfleche. Coyote saw another pass ahead. He told her,  
 100 "You go ahead and cross over the hill. You will find a creek there.  
 That's where we will camp. I'm going to hunt antelope." She knew what  
 Coyote was trying to do but she went ahead up the hill. Coyote saw her  
 coming and as she passed by he shot her with an arrow. The creek wasn't  
 very far so he butchered her there and started hauling the meat down. He  
 105 began to dry the meat. Coyote saw a cottonwood tree nearby and he thought,  
 "I'll climb that tree so I can look around. It won't seem so long for the  
 meat to dry." He climbed up there and sat in the crotch. Soon he heard  
 wolves howling. He thought, "The meat must be almost done. I had better  
 get down." The wind began to blow. The tree pinched him in and he couldn't  
 110 move. He saw the wolves coming. They ate the dried meat and dragged  
 the bones away. After they left, the wind stopped and Coyote climbed out  
 of the tree. He was mad about everything. He decided to go back and get  
 another wife from his partner. When he got back to the herd he began  
 crying. Buffalo asked him why he cried. Coyote said, "She died. My wife  
 115 died. That's why I came back here." Buffalo said, "She didn't die.  
 She's back in the herd right now but you can't have her. You tried to  
 kill her and you can't have another wife. I can't help you. Now you can  
 go any place you want." That is all.

#### IIA2 Coyote's Son-In-Law

Coyote and his family were camped. His wife, Pūliha, was always doing  
 something around their shabby tipi. They had four sons and a daughter.  
 Small Ankle (Tsatsetsn) was the youngest son, next was Ptsalūque, then  
 Laying-At-The-Bottom-Of-A-Tree (Kwetʔaxʔa), and the oldest was Mīyanka.  
 5 The daughter was named Horse-Fly Dress (Catenax). One day Coyote said,  
 "Our daughter has not yet married, but now she must since she is old  
 enough." Then Pūliha asked, "My, oh, my. Who could she marry? There  
 are no people around anywhere except us folks here. Whom will she marry  
 now?" Coyote answered, "No, but she will have to choose from among her  
 10 brothers. Whichever one she smiles at will become her husband." Pūliha  
 did not like that, and said, "The very idea of our daughter having to  
 choose from among her brothers. That is silly." Then Coyote directed,  
 "Now let us go on. The first one will be the oldest. Come on Mīyanka,  
 sit here and face your sister. If she smiles at you she will become your  
 15 wife." Mīyanka sat down and faced his sister. She didn't smile but snapped  
 her eyes at him and looked away. "Ha, ha, ha," Coyote laughed, "Mīyanka  
 rejected by his own sister, ha, ha, ha. All right, now the next one.  
 You Kwetʔaxʔa, come sit here and face your sister." He faced his sister.

She looked at him, snapped her eyes and looked away. "Ha, ha, ha," said  
 20 Coyote, "Kwetzaxa, too, rejected by his own sister, ha, ha, ha." Ptsalūque  
 was rejected the same way and Coyote laughed loudly. Then Coyote called  
 Small Ankle. Catenax looked at him. He was so cute with his dirty face  
 and messy hair. She had always loved him and changed his diapers. She  
 smiled faintly at the corner of her mouth. Coyote saw that and announced  
 25 that Tsatsetsn was now Catenax's husband. They must make their own bed  
 and sleep together from then on. The next morning Coyote told his young  
 son-in-law that he should go hunting and start supporting his wife. He  
 should bring his mother-in-law some meat, too, because all married men  
 did that and he should do it, too. That is all.

### IIA3 Coyote And The Sweat Lodge

Coyote walked and walked. Coming over a small ridge he saw a faint smoke  
 rising in a distant valley. He walked toward it and after a time he came  
 on an old man whose hair was all white and yellowed with age. There was  
 a sweathouse next to him and the rocks he was watching were very hot,  
 5 almost red. The sweathouse was open. Coyote took off his clothes, went  
 inside, and waited for the old man to bring the stones in. But, after  
 waiting a long time, Coyote became impatient. He yelled at the old man  
 to bring the stones in, but the old man just ignored him. Coyote became  
 very mad and rushed out of the sweathouse. He took the pole away from the  
 10 old man and hit him over the head with it. The old man did not groan or  
 yell, but just fell down. Coyote said, "Now, what kind of man are you that  
 you ignore my wishes, not talking to me or not bringing the hot stones  
 into the lodge? Don't you know that is the custom?" So Coyote took the  
 stones inside and sweated for a long time. Then he left. After walking  
 15 away from there Coyote felt a headache. It grew and grew until he stag-  
 gered around. Soon he couldn't see. He sat down and held his head between  
 his knees thinking that the headache would go away. Soon he passed out  
 and died. After several days his friend, Fox, happened by. He talked to  
 Coyote but got no reply. He knew then that Coyote was dead so he rolled  
 20 him over, stepped over him four times, and Coyote returned to life. He  
 stretched, yawned and asked Fox, "How long have I been sleeping." Fox said,  
 "You were not asleep. You were dead. Now, my friend, you have done wrong  
 to that old man. He gave you this headache because you hit him unfairly.  
 Soon you will die again, but you can escape death if you go back to him  
 25 and sweat." So Coyote went back to the sweathouse. The old man was still  
 standing there looking at the red-hot rocks. Coyote gently took the pole  
 from him, took the rocks inside, and sweated and sweated. After about  
 ten days had passed the old man told Coyote, "You must stop now. That is  
 enough sweating. After this you may have anything that you wish for, but  
 30 you must use everything you get." One day as Coyote was nearing a river,  
 he thought, "I am hungry for fish. I wish there were two, big salmon laying  
 there in the river ahead." He was surprised to see two, big salmon laying  
 there and he ate them very fast. Then he went on again. "Boy, I am hungry  
 for a mountain chicken." Soon he got a mountain chicken and ate all of it.  
 35 (This cycle may be repeated as often as a particular narrator desires.)  
 Coyote wished for a deer, but when he got it he couldn't eat it all. That  
 was the last time Coyote could wish for anything. That is all.

## IIA4 Coyote And The Hungry Teeth

Coyote was walking upstream along a river where many cottonwoods grew. He saw a place where all the trees were cut down and where there were many drag marks on the ground. He saw an old and greasy tipi back in the brush. He stopped just outside the door and yelled, "I just got here." He was invited to enter. He went in and there was only one man in there. Along the tipi walls were high stacks of wood cut to the same length. The man put the chunks of wood in his mouth and his teeth chewed them up. In a short time all the wood was gone. Coyote thought, "I wish those teeth were mine. I could use them in many ways." The man kept eating until midnight. Then his teeth stopped chewing. He told Coyote, "Well, I am going to cook us something to eat now. I have my own food but I have to feed my teeth until they stop. Then I can eat." They ate and went to bed. In the morning they had a hurried breakfast. Then the man chopped wood as fast as he could. Coyote was ready to start out walking again. He told the man, "I wish we could trade teeth." The man told him, "No, you better not wish for them. You would get tired chopping wood and feeding them, but you would have to do it anyway." But Coyote kept begging. Finally the man said, "We will trade. Give me your teeth. I advise you to always stay near a river where there are trees wherever you go. If you don't the teeth will eat you." So he got his new teeth. The man said, "Thank you. Now I can rest." Coyote went up to a tree and chewed it down. He thought that was very wonderful. He walked all day, always where there were trees. That afternoon he became tired of chewing down trees, but his teeth didn't stop chewing until midnight. Early in the morning he started out for some wood. He came to a bend (horseshoe-like) in the river and didn't want to follow it all the way around. He wanted to go straight across at the smallest place. So he loaded some wood on his back and ran toward the other side of the river. He started feeding his teeth, but they ate faster than usual. He was close to the river when his teeth ran out of wood. So he tore off his clothes and fed them to his teeth, but the teeth began chewing on him and soon killed him. Fox was walking along and came upon the bones. He gathered them up, laid them in order, and spread his blanket over them. He jumped over the bones four times. Coyote woke, yawning, saying, "I have been sleeping for a long time." Fox told him, "No, your teeth ate you up." Coyote remembered and he said to his teeth, "When the day comes that there are people you will not be an evil witch anymore." He threw the teeth high into a pine tree and told them, "When a tree rots you will still be there." That is all.

## IIA5 Coyote And Camp Robber

Coyote and Camp Robber were camped together. Every morning Camp Robber got up early, combed his hair, and left camp. He didn't return until late each night. Coyote wondered what he was doing and he asked, "Where have you been going? What have you been doing?" Camp Robber said, "Not far from here there is another camp. The Chief has a very beautiful daughter. All the young men from all the tribes go there to see her. That's why I am going. If you saw her you would understand. She only comes out of her tipi early in the morning and late in the evening. All we can do is look at

her." Coyote said, "Tomorrow morning you stay here. It's my turn to go."  
 10 So Coyote combed his hair, dressed up in his finest clothes, and put fresh  
 paint on. Camp Robber told him where to find the girl's camp. He sat on  
 a hill close to her camp so he could watch for her. Just as the sun came  
 up she came out of her tipi. Coyote cried, "Ha-yo, ha-yo, ha-yo, ha-yo,"  
 to himself over and over. She was so beautiful. Her hair shone like the  
 15 sun. He couldn't stop saying how pretty she was. He watched her walk  
 around and finally she went back into her tipi. All the while there was  
 a bunch of young men standing around watching her, but they never spoke  
 to her. Coyote thought, "I'm not going home yet. I'll wait until this  
 evening and see her once more." Just as the sun went down she came out  
 20 again. He told himself over and over how beautiful she was. She walked  
 in a circle and went back inside. Coyote said to himself, "No use in going  
 back tonight. I'll just sleep here and then I can see her once more in the  
 morning." But he didn't go home at all. He laid there for a month until  
 he couldn't even walk. All he could do was face the tipi and watch. One  
 25 morning she came out and he couldn't see her very well. He was dying.  
 He said, "I wish someone smart and powerful would help me so I could see  
 her once more this evening before I die. Then I would die happy." When  
 she came out that evening she just looked like a shadow. He was nearly  
 blind and soon he died. Camp Robber had been waiting for Coyote every  
 30 day and he wondered what had happened to his partner. Fox came by and  
 asked about Coyote. Camp Robber told him, "Oh, he went over to that other  
 camp to see the Chief's daughter and he hasn't come home." So Fox walked  
 over there. He saw Coyote laying there dead. He covered him with his  
 blanket and jumped over him. Coyote stretched, yawned, and said, "Oh, I  
 35 slept for so long." Fox said, "You haven't been sleeping. You have been  
 laying there watching that girl and you starved to death." Coyote said,  
 "Oh, that's right. From now on boys will not die just because they wish  
 for beautiful girls." That is all.

#### IIB1 The Wolves And Their Enemies

The four Wolves were camped at a place north of Somers along the west side  
 of Flathead Lake. One night Greedy (Ntetlane) sang a stick game song.  
 Their leader, Sctao, scolded them, "You must not know how smart our enemies  
 are if all you want to do is play a stick game." In the morning he told  
 5 Greedy to chop a load of serviceberry bushes and Soxode to make arrows  
 from. "You will have to cut eight loads of that wood before night comes.  
 We three will go hunting." It was almost dark when they got back. Greedy  
 had just finished gathering his last load of bushes. After they ate they  
 began making arrows. Each made arrows from two loads of wood. They finished  
 10 the arrow making the next night. Sctao told Greedy, "We are not going to  
 hunt deer around here. They are not mean. We will go where deer are mean  
 and can hurt you or kill you." They left camp and headed to a place very  
 close to where Somers is today. They all laid down beside the deer trail.  
 Sctao told Greedy, "Let the deer pass until you can get a good shot.  
 15 Shoot each deer that comes by until all your arrows are gone. Use only one  
 arrow for each deer. After you finish the next one will begin shooting.  
 There are many deer here and if we don't kill them all with these eight  
 loads of arrows they will kill us." They weren't there long when the deer

began coming by. Greedy shot and shot until he had used up all his arrows.

20 Then Ntsiitsn shot his load of arrows. Then Ikūšinou shot. No more deer came by after Sctao shot his last arrow, and he said, "I'm glad we got them all. We're safe now. Someday this will no longer be a deer trail. It will be a human road and people won't have to be afraid of coming through here. Come, we still have a long way to go." They started south again.

25 Halfway between Dayton and Somers they stopped. Sctao said, "We have some work to do here, too. We will have to build a strong canoe. There is a Bull Elk in this water. The only time we'll be able to see him is when it's dark. He is one of our enemies." He made a spear out of bone while the others built a canoe. They finished their work by evening so the

30 others gathered up some pitch and tied it to the front end of the canoe. They set the pitch afire. Sctao told Greedy, "You stay here on shore. When we spear Elk he will drag the canoe trying to get loose. That will make the pitch burn faster and it might go out. When you think it is about to go out you will say, 'I wish the fire would get bigger.'" Then

35 it won't go out." When it got dark they went out to the middle of Flat-head Lake. They saw Elk standing deep down in the water. Sctao said, "Hang on! I'm going to stab him." Elk ran away with them and pulled the canoe all over the lake. The fire was going out and Greedy said, "I wish the fire would get bigger," and it did. The last time he wished

40 for the fire to get bigger the canoe slowed and stopped right in front of him. Elk had died. They pulled him in close to shore, but he was too heavy to pull further. Greedy asked, "What are we going to do with the meat?" "We are going to leave it because it isn't any good." Greedy asked, "Can I take one antler?" Sctao asked him why he wanted one antler

45 and Greedy said, "It is very sharp and I want to make a knife out of it." After he had made his knife they moved on. They went as far as Dayton and Sctao told them to stop. "Tonight we will go to Wildhorse Island. There is a huge, white Beaver who lives there. We have to kill him." That night they gathered a bundle of pitch and Greedy was told to stay on shore

50 and watch. "That Beaver only comes out at night. He will pull us all over the lake and the fire will almost go out." When they were near the center of the lake they saw Beaver laying on the bottom. Sctao stabbed him and Beaver pulled them around very fast so that the fire almost went out. Greedy was so worried as he watched that he said, "I wish the fire would

55 go out," and it did. He waited for his brothers until morning but they didn't come back. He thought Beaver must have killed them. He made himself a brush house and thought he would stay there and die, too. White Beaver was Chief of all the beavers. He told them to stay away from the shore where Greedy was and to let him starve. But one young kitten wanted

60 to go ashore. There he saw the brush house and said to himself, "I'm going to see if anybody is really there. I don't think anything will happen to me." He peeked inside and saw Greedy sleeping with his back to the door. He had a tiny fire going and had his sword laying by his side. The kitten thought he was dead. He poked Greedy with a burning stick from the fire.

65 Greedy jumped up, grabbed his sword, and chased the kitten out to Wildhorse Island. He found the den and went inside. Beavers were sitting on both sides, young ones first on down to the elders at the far end. He killed all those sitting on the left side. He reached White Beaver who told him, "You hit me and the same thing that happened to your brothers will happen

70 to you." So Greedy went back and killed all the beavers on the right side of the den. When he reached White Beaver he was told, "Hit me and I'll kill you." Greedy thought, "Well, then, let him kill me," and he hit him. It took two strokes to kill him. Greedy couldn't drag him out through the door so he opened up the top of the den and pulled him outside. When he  
 75 got White Beaver out he cut him open and found his dead brothers in there. He covered them with his blanket, jumped over them, and they came back to life. Sctao said, "Thank you. We are alive again. That's why I told you to stay away. Otherwise all of us would have been killed and we wouldn't have had a chance to come alive." Greedy asked, "Can I take a part of  
 80 his hide?" "No, if you want a hide take one from the other beavers." So Greedy took the hides from all sixteen of the dead beavers. "Why do you have to take so many?" "Oh, I am going to make myself a big blanket out of them," he answered. They had to go farther west, so Greedy tanned the hides, made his blanket, and followed the others. Sctao said, "You come  
 85 last. Your blanket is too big. It drags way behind you. You better cut your blanket down so you can walk better." That is all.

#### IIB2 The Wolves' Sister Marries

Five wolves were camped. There were four brothers and their sister. Sctao was the leader and he and Ntsiitsn and Ikūšinou were hunters. Greedy was only the wood chopper. Sister was the cook and she tended to drying the meat. One evening when all the men were home their sister wasn't  
 5 speaking. Sctao said, "You are lonesome for a husband. It is a long way to where there are other people. You will have to go in the direction of the rising sun. Tomorrow morning get ready and you can go." So that morning came and she packed some food and clothing. Sctao told her, "I don't know how many days you will have to walk but you will finally see  
 10 some people running up and down beside their camp. They will be gambling. When they stop toward evening a boy will come to meet you, but don't go with that one. When a boy all dressed in red comes you go with him. He is a smart man. That is all the advice I can give you." She walked for several days until she came to a camp where people were gambling. When the  
 15 game was over boys came over and asked her to go with them. She told them, "No, I didn't come here to be with you." The boy dressed in red was living with his grandmother. His grandmother went out that evening and saw the girl. She told her grandson, "Skūdlétm (Red), you go get that girl. She's not from here, but she will be your wife." It was just getting  
 20 dark when he reached the girl. He asked her to go home with him and live with his grandmother. She agreed and told him that she had been looking for him. He took her back to Grandmother's tipi and told her, "There is my bed. You sit there." Red only went out very early in the mornings and stayed in the tipi all day long when he wasn't hunting. He told his  
 25 wife, "I don't go out in the daytime. I stay inside all day until they quit that gambling. When they quit that I will go outside again." But his wife tired of staying in the tipi day after day doing nothing. One day she asked him, "Let's go outside and watch the game. We can watch it right from our doorway." She kept begging him. Finally he agreed, "All  
 30 right, you put on your best clothes. I'll do the same and we will go." Then he took two sticks and a buckskin ball. He gave her one of the sticks

saying, "There are two women at the game. Our camp is gambling with them. They are very fast runners and want to take me away. That's why I am afraid of them and stay in the tipi all day. "When they left the tipi  
35 he said, "You hold onto my belt and don't let loose whatever you do."  
The Women's goal was to the west and the camp's goal was to the east. The ball ground was a half mile long. Red and his wife stopped in the middle of the grounds and waited. The Women knew him. When they had the ball they ran with it, one on each side of it. One would hit it and then  
40 the other. No one could catch them. When they were even with Red he tried to hit the ball but they beat him to it. After the Women had won the game, one of them broke Red's wife's hold on his belt. They grabbed Red and ran away, leaving all their winnings behind. All Red's wife could do was stand there and watch them until they were gone from view. She went  
45 back to the tipi and cried. Grandmother told her, "See, you made him go. He didn't want to go. Now they have taken him away from you. You might as well pack up and go back to your brothers. The Women won't let him come back." So she walked back to her brothers. She told them what had happened and they said, "We knew it. We knew you were coming back." She  
50 stayed with them and soon she had a baby. When the child was a year old, Sctao told her, "Your husband is back in his camp, but the Women are there, too. Maybe when he sees his son he will keep you and make them go away." The next morning she packed up and started for her husband's camp. When she came in sight they were playing the ball game. She stood there and  
55 waited until the game was over. The old grandmother saw her and said, "Red, Red, go get your wife and son. They are waiting for you out there." He went out and got her and his son. Grandmother went back into the tipi and told the Women, who each had a child, to go home to their family. She scolded them for wearing their hair so short and for wearing such short  
60 dresses and said, "You don't belong on that bed. It belongs to her." So Red brought his first wife and son into the tipi. The Women took their babies and started home to their family. Grandmother waited for awhile and went outside. She saw the Women just disappearing over a hill and she called, "Red, Red, go after your wives. They just went over that last  
65 hill." So he left and followed them. When he was out of sight the Women ran so they could get him away from his camp faster. He hadn't caught up to them by dark but he knew the way. He got there in the morning. The Women's father was Chief of that camp. When Red went into the Chief's tipi no one greeted him or paid him any attention. His father-in-law went out  
70 and called all the men and boys to his tipi. He said, "My son-in-law is here. Take him and tie him up tightly." They did as they were told and took everything out of the tipi. "Now make a big fire of pitch and plug all the holes in the tipi." They made a big fire of pitch and it smoked. They left Red in there for a long while. Chief called, "Bring him out."  
75 They took him out and untied him. His red clothes were all smoked up and dark. They saw he was Woodpecker. His wives were Antelope. When they turned him loose, Chief said, "You go home and stay with your people. We are not the same as you are. Don't come around here again." When Red got back to his camp he was pitiful. He told his wife, "Now, you had better  
80 return to your brothers. You must leave our son here with me. If you try staying with me all the people will laugh at us because I ruined myself by chasing after those Women. I will always be a Woodpecker. You will

always be a Wolf. You go back to your brothers." When she got back, her brothers asked her, "What did you do with your son?" She told them what 85 had happened. Sctao said, "It is good to have you back. From now on we will stay at home with our own kind." That is all.

#### IIC1 Skunk And Fisher

Two girls, Sadlī and Chipmunk, and their grandmother had a camp. Skunk and Fisher lived in another camp away from there. Fisher was a good hunter. Skunk only hauled Fisher's kills back to camp. When Fisher returned to camp in the evening he would tell Skunk where to find the deer he had 5 killed. Grandmother told her granddaughters to go over to Fisher's camp, "Go into their tipi. Inside on the right is Fisher's bed. On the left side you will smell only Skunk. They will both be gone when you get there. Fisher is out hunting and Skunk is carrying in the game. Be on Fisher's bed when he gets back. Then you will be his wives. Hide if Skunk comes 10 home first. If you don't you will be his wives." So they went to that camp and they saw Fisher's bed. They sat there waiting. They heard someone coming and looked outside. It was Skunk so they crawled under Fisher's pillow. Skunk dropped his heavy load outside and said, "I am sure tired." He went into the tipi and threw himself onto the bed. He hit so hard he 15 broke wind. Sadlī laughed loudly at that. Skunk heard her and turned the pillow over. He said, "You didn't come over here to live with Fisher. You came to live with me. Come over to my bed." They went because they were afraid of him. He made one of them lay up on his pillow and the other one lay at the foot of his bed. He laid down with his feet on one of them 20 and his head on the other. They heard Fisher coming. Skunk put his wives under his pillow. Fisher saw that Skunk hadn't cooked supper and said, "I wonder why you haven't cooked supper yet." Skunk said, "What is there were someone near? They would think that I am only the cook here." So Fisher had to cook supper. Skunk took his share of the food and put it by 25 his pillow. Fisher asked him why he did that. Skunk told him, "Oh, I'm not hungry right now. I will eat later tonight." In the morning Fisher told Skunk where to find the deer he had killed the day before. Skunk said, "What if someone were near? They would think that I am only your pack-horse." Fisher said, "You have to go get it. I want you to have it back 30 here by the time I come in tonight." Then he pretended to go hunting. He stopped and waited to see what Skunk would do. Skunk ran very fast after the deer. Fisher went back into the tipi. He found Chipmunk and her sister under Skunk's pillow and asked them, "Did your grandmother tell you to come live with Skunk?" Chipmunk answered, "No. My sister laughed 35 and he heard her. That is how he found us." Fisher said, "We will have to run away. Skunk is very mean when he is mad." Then Fisher burned the tipi down. When the smoke was thickest they climbed onto it and ran. When Skunk got to the deer he saw the smoke. He was scared because he thought his wives had burned up. He threw down his load and ran for camp. 40 Only ashes and smoke were left. He dug around in the ashes looking for bones but found nothing. He built himself a fire that night. He saw their tracks in his smoke. So he broke many boughs and put them on the fire. When the smoke was very heavy Skunk followed his wives and Fisher. After a while he landed and saw them running ahead of him. They had 45 climbed halfway up the side of a cliff by the time he caught up with them.



Skunk followed them to the edge of the lake at the bottom of the cliff, but he lost their sign there. He looked around and saw them sitting in the lake. He told them, "You are going to die today." So he shot into the water. When the smoke had cleared he saw them still sitting there laughing  
50 at him. He took another shot at them. They still laughed. He took another shot. They still sat there laughing. He ran out of ammunition so he ate a lot of green grass to make more. He had to wait until the grass turned to ammunition so he laid down on his back in the grass. He saw them sitting up in the rocks. He jumped up and down, shouting his war songs. Then he  
55 shot at them. They died and rolled down the cliff. Skunk picked up the girls and covered them with his blanket. He jumped over them and they came alive. He said, "I'm not going to bring my partner back to life. He can stay that way." Then they started walking. Soon Skunk told the girls he was tired, "Let us lay down here and sleep for awhile." He made one of  
60 them lay under his feet and made the other lay under his head. They asked him if he would move over onto the long, soft grass and he did. When he had fallen asleep one girl said to the other, "Crawl out from under his feet. We will put stones under him in our places." They put a stone under his head and one under his feet. Then they set the grass around him on  
65 fire. He didn't wake until the fire was nearly upon him. He said to himself, "The ground sounds awfully loud. You would think the earth was shaking." He raised one of his feet and kicked at the girl there. He hurt his foot. He lifted his head and dropped it on the girl there. He hurt his head, too. Then he jumped up as he saw the fire coming. He jumped  
70 around and burned to death there. The sisters went back looking for Fisher. Chipmunk covered him with her blanket. She brought him to life and told him that they had killed Skunk. He was happy to hear that, but he told them that they would all have to go live with Grandmother because he didn't have a tipi any more. That is all.

## IIC2 Skunk Steals A Wife

Skunk was camped all by himself. The big camp was far away because everyone was afraid of him and did not want to live near him. One day he became tired of being alone and decided that he would visit the camp. He got there about dark when everyone was having fun playing the stick game. The tipis  
5 were arranged in a circle and the people were in a tipi in the center of all the others. Skunk went to that tipi just as they finished a game. He announced that he was going to play the next game. Everybody began moving\* at once, trying to get outside. The woman next to him started to get up but he pushed her back down and told her she was to be on his side.  
10 Everyone was to bet against them. All Skunk had to gamble with were his bow and four arrows. He put one arrow out and told the people to bet anything against it. He won and won and soon there was a huge stack of blankets and belongings in front of him. The woman who was Skunk's partner was the wife of Spider. Spider was black and poisonous, and came back to  
15 camp after hunting. The people outguessed Skunk and asked for the bones. Skunk said, "Are you sure you outguessed me? If you did I will shoot you." The others said, "Oh, no, you are right. We didn't outguess you." When the people had the bones he missed his guess. He told them he would shoot them unless they gave him the bones. They gave him the bones. He gave the

20 woman one set of bones and kept the other. He thought she was now his wife.  
So he sang his stick game song:

Ay-ah-ha,  
Ay-ah-ha.  
Ay-ha-ay,  
Ay-ha-ay.  
25 Ay-ah-ha,  
Ay-ah-ha.  
Ah-ha-ah,  
Ah-ah-ha.

30 Skunk's threats won him the game. He left everything in front of him and told everyone to bet against that. Spider asked where his wife was and a man told him. "She is over at the stick games. Somebody took your wife from you." That made Spider very mad. He hurried to his tipi where he grabbed his sword and his sack of poison from the wall. He arrived  
35 at the center tipi just as Skunk and his wife began singing for the second game. Spider crept silently up behind Skunk and poked his sword slowly into Skunk's back. Skunk felt a burning pain in his back but he pretended to be jolly, all the while trying to see behind him. Skunk finally saw Spider and quickly handed the bones to his wife. He told everyone that he  
40 had a stomach ache and had to go outside for a while. Then he ran back to his own camp very fast and left his winnings behind. That is all.

#### IID Frog Takes A Mate

There was a big camp with many tipis. There was another camp close by where Frog lived alone in a brush house. There was a celebration going on in the big camp, and married couples were walking around. Frog was watching and he thought it must be nice to have a wife and be able to walk  
5 around like that, arm in arm. He thought he should get himself a wife so he could join the other couples. So he went to the Chief and told him he wanted a wife. Chief told Coyote, the camp announcer, to tell everybody that Frog wanted a wife. Soon the young girls and women went over to see what Frog looked like. They all said they didn't want him for a husband  
10 because his eyes were too high in his head. Chief asked him, "Now, what are you going to do? They all say your eyes are too high." Frog said, "Well, I will change things around. Tell the boys that I am looking for a husband." Then the boys and men came around to look him over. Bat was the only one who wanted him. Then the people all prayed to Sun and the  
15 Chief married Frog and Bat. Chief told Frog that he must then go to live with his husband. Frog went back with Bat. There was nothing in Bat's tipi--no blankets, no bed, nothing to eat. Bat climbed up a tipi pole to the roof and hung there upside down by his feet. He called Frog to come up there and go to bed with him. Frog got up there with Bat's help  
20 and hung there upside down. But he fell asleep and fell out of bed. Frog landed very hard on his head. He sat up and thought, "It is no good having a husband. I will go back and ask the Chief for his advice." He went back and told the Chief, "My husband's bed is no good. I just fell from there and was hurt. It is no good having a husband or a wife. What  
25 can I do? Can I have a grandmother or a grandchild?" The Chief said, "What are you, a man or a woman?" Frog answered, "I don't know," and the Chief told him, "Go back to your own camp and just stay that way." That

is all.

### IIE Kadlep̄ie Marries

There was a big camp. The Chief had his camp in the center. All the houses were holes in the ground covered with brush. Kadlep̄ie and his grandmother were camped on the edge of the main camp. Kadlep̄ie was a kind and smart boy. Chief had a daughter, and each night all of the boys would enter  
 5 her tipi one at a time, to see if she would marry them. Crow's son went in every night. She always refused him. Chief knew that there was one smart, good looking boy in the camp but he didn't know who he was. That was because Kadlep̄ie only hunted evenings and during the night. One evening he told his grandmother, "I'm not going hunting this evening. We have plenty  
 10 of everything that a young woman would need. I am going to see her." He waited until after midnight and went to her tipi. He crawled inside and laid down facing her. She awoke and thought, "I suppose that is Crow's son again," and she hit him in the face. He didn't make a sound. He got up and his nose bled. Each drop of blood turned into a pearl. After  
 15 he had left, the daughter decided that it hadn't been Crow's son after all. She got up and saw the shining pearls. She put them in her pocket and followed the trail of pearls, picking them up as she came to them. Then she came to where Kadlep̄ie's camp had stood. She knew who had lived there then but the camp was gone. That had been the boy she was waiting for.  
 20 She wondered where they had moved their camp. Then she heard singing somewhere above her. After Kadlep̄ie had sung his song, she heard him say, "Well, my grandmother, we shall move from this camp. I am shamed after being hit like that." So the girl walked and walked, following the sounds above her. She knew she would follow him until she died. Their voices moved  
 25 as fast as she could walk. Kadlep̄ie told his grandmother to make camp early each morning. Then the girl would sleep, too. They moved on at dusk. After many days, the girl was near death. She knew the next day would be her last. Grandmother told Kadlep̄ie, "You should take pity on her. She has walked a long way now." They had been carrying their house along through  
 30 the air. Kadlep̄ie listened to his grandmother and lowered his house over the sleeping girl. She didn't wake until nightfall. When she awoke she heard singing and saw she was in a house. Grandmother told her, "That is Kadlep̄ie over there. Go sit by him. We are ready to eat now." The girl showed Kadlep̄ie all the pearls, saying, "This is what you lost." The next  
 35 day Grandmother ordered, "We will move back now." Kadlep̄ie sang as he raised his house into the air and took it back to camp. Then he and his grandmother gave the girl clothes with the pearls sewed on them. From that time on Kadlep̄ie went around in the daytime. The people came to know him. That is all.

### IIF Snake And Thunder

Snake was walking in the woods. His blanket was black with orange and black stripes running down it. He came to a narrow trail and followed it. The trail ran through the middle of a clearing. He looked up and saw some-  
 5 one dressed in bright red clothing coming down the trail toward him. He thought that person was being smart wearing all that red like that. They

met in the center of the clearing. Snake saw it was Thunder dressed in red. Thunder told Snake, "Get off the trail. This is my road." Snake told him, "As soon as I saw you coming I knew I wouldn't like you. I was walking down this trail. You get out of my way." Thunder answered, 10 "If you don't get off this trail I'll tie you up." Thunder threw his blanket aside and went up into the sky. He thundered and it began to rain. Snake stood up straight and slid out of his blanket into the grass, leaving his blanket standing by itself. Thunder struck the blanket and it disappeared. When he got back on the ground, he crossed his arms in 15 front of him. Snake jumped up and tied his hands that way. Thunder shouted, "Turn me loose. Untie my hands. Who are you?" Snake told him, "I am the one called Tūmehū. I'm not going to turn you loose. You are going to stand there until you die. You ruined my beautiful blanket." Thunder said, "If you turn me loose I will give you my blanket." "No," 20 said Snake, "I had a good blanket. Mine was not ugly like yours. Your only chance of being turned loose again will be if you can find a mighty Chief. If he can coax me, maybe I will and maybe I won't turn you loose." So Thunder started looking for some people. He found a camp and asked for the Chief. He asked Mountain Lion, the Chief, "I am tied up by Tūmehū 25 and I must ask you to get him to turn me loose." Chief said, "I don't know him. You will have to find someone who knows him. You go way up there in the high mountains. That is where the biggest Chief lives. If he knows Tūmehū then he may help you. If he doesn't then you will have to stay that way." Thunder climbed way up to the tops of the highest mountains, 30 in great pain knowing he was going to die at any moment. He finally saw some people and asked, "Where does your Chief live?" He was directed to the center tipi and he saw Mountain Goat was the Chief. Goat asked, "Why did you come up here?" Thunder told him, "I want you to get Tūmehū to let me free. I am almost dead." The Chief said, "Come here. Let me see 35 him. No, I don't know him but I have two workmen. Call them. Maybe they will know him. Look at this one, Camp Robber. He calls himself Tūmehū." Camp Robber looked and said, "No, I don't know him." The Chief said, "Go get Bluejay. He may know him." In a little while, Bluejay came in laughing, "ha, ha, ha," and said, "What is going on? Where is he?" He looked 40 and said, "Ha, ha, ha," and ran back outside. He peeked back in and said, "Tūmehū. That's what they call Snake." Goat was mad and sharpened his stone knife. He called to Thunder and said to Snake, "So that is what you are called, a snake. If you don't turn Thunder loose I will cut you in two." Snake untied himself and hid among the rocks. Goat told him, "You 45 will not be dangerous when people come. You will be pitiful and will have to hide in the grass." That is all.

### IIG Jackrabbit And Grizzly Bear

Jackrabbit and his grandmother were camped at the head of a river. Jackrabbit had a long knife that he always kept sharp. Every evening his grandmother would have his moccasins patched for him. Then he would run down the hill and run around. By the time he got back in the morning his moccasins 5 would be all worn out again. Then he would sleep all day, get up in the evening and run around all night. One evening he found a big tamarack laying across the river, its small end off the river. Just as he got there Grizzly came from the other side. Grizzly asked Jackrabbit who he was,

but Jackrabbit didn't answer. That made Grizzly mad, "If I could reach  
 10 you I would kill you." Jackrabbit said, "Well, get on the end of this log  
 and come across and kill me." Grizzly tried to climb onto the small end  
 of the log but it shook and he fell off, "If I try to cross on this log  
 I will fall into the river." Jackrabbit told him, "You take four, big rocks.  
 Put two on each side inside your shirt. That will balance you." So Grizzly  
 15 did that. Now the log was quieter. Jackrabbit said, "Come on. Start walking  
 on the log. I'll hold it on this end." About halfway across, the log be-  
 gan to sway because Jackrabbit was swinging it. Grizzly fell into the  
 river. When he hit bottom he kicked upwards. He grabbed for the log, but  
 Jackrabbit grabbed his arm and cut it off with his sharp knife. Grizzly  
 20 drowned. When Jackrabbit went home, Grandmother was afraid, "What are you  
 going to do with that arm? What can you use it for?" He answered, "Oh,  
 I'll make use of it someday," and he skinned it. He cut off all the hide  
 and gave it to Grandmother, saying, "You tan that for me. When it is all  
 soft you paint it with rouge, both inside and out." So that night he went  
 25 running around again. When he got back Grandmother gave him his bear-  
 skin moccasins, "Here. They are done." He tied them up under a tipi pole.  
 Then she said, "You should get married. I am old and tired. Every day I  
 patch your moccasins for you." "Oh, I will. I know where there is a  
 bunch of women." So he started out across the flats. There was a bunch of  
 30 women digging bitterroot. One woman, standing in the middle, wore a red  
 dress. He thought she was the one he wanted. He went among them and they  
 all stopped and watched him. He went to the woman, took her by the arm  
 and said, "Lay down your tools and be my wife." She said, "No, I can't  
 go with you. My husband is Thunder and he is mean." But Jackrabbit took  
 35 her with him anyway. Grandmother was scared, "Take her back, take her  
 back. Thunder will come here and kill us all." When the women quit digging  
 that evening they went back to their camp and told Thunder, "Jackrabbit  
 took your wife. He took her home with him." Thunder said, "I will get  
 her." He went straight up into the air and made noise. When Grandmother  
 40 heard Thunder she said, "Let her go. Let her go home." Jackrabbit an-  
 swered, "No. Let him come here and get her." Thunder caused it to rain.  
 When the rain hit Jackrabbit he took the woman in his arms and slipped  
 Grizzly's tanned hand over his own. He went outside and watched for Thun-  
 der. He didn't blink when the rain struck his eyes. So Thunder made it  
 45 hail, but still Jackrabbit wouldn't blink his eyes. Thunder thought, "I  
 can't make him blink so I will kill him." Just as Thunder about grabbed him,  
 Jackrabbit reached out and scratched his eyes out with his bear claws.  
 Thunder had to turn back. Jackrabbit went back and told Grandmother,  
 "Thunder is afraid of me. He ran away. Now you can give my wife all of  
 50 my worn out moccasins to patch." That is all.

### III Bluejay Traps The Sun

Bluejay and his grandmother were camped. Bluejay was a smart boy and an  
 excellent trapper. One day he told his grandmother that he was going out  
 to trap a black bear. He had trapped every kind of animal except the  
 dangerous ones. He went far back into the mountains and set three traps.  
 5 He went back and told his grandmother what he had done. In the morning he  
 went up to look at his traps. The first one held a black bear, the second  
 trap had a mountain lion, and the third trap held a grizzly bear. It took

him all the next day to skin them out. Now Bluejay had trapped everything there was to be trapped. He became restless. He didn't want to trap the  
 10 timid animals anymore. He saw the sun come up and watched the place on the mountain where it sank slowly out of sight. He decided to trap Sun. He took all the sinew from the three animals and braided it tightly into a long rope, waxing it with tamarack sap. When he went up the mountain to where the sun had disappeared, he looked down the mountain on the far side  
 15 and saw the road Sun used going up and down the mountain. It was a very wide path. He set his trap there and tied it between two trees. When he thought it was set just right he went home and went to bed because it was already dark. That morning he thought he would sleep later than he usually did. Grandmother got up early, made a fire, and started cooking.  
 20 The Sun shone into the tipi, but suddenly it became dark. She went outside and looked up toward Sun. Sun jumped up and fell back down behind the mountain, making everything dark once more. She woke her grandson and told him that something was wrong with Sun. He went outside and told her he had trapped Sun. She told him to turn Sun loose before something bad  
 25 happened to the whole world. He left and went up to the three traps that he had reset earlier. He found a black bear, a mountain lion, and a grizzly bear in his traps. He led them along to help him free Sun. When they came close to Sun they thought they were on fire. Bluejay sent the black bear to chew through the trap and cut it loose. Before he could cut it  
 30 loose he curled up and died from the heat. So Bluejay sent the mountain lion to chew through the trap. But before he could cut it he died. Bluejay sent the grizzly bear and told him, "You are smart and can cut it loose. If you don't we will all die." Grizzly died just after he severed the trap from the trees. Sun jumped up to where he should have been at that time of  
 35 day. Bluejay went home and told Grandmother that the world would have been destroyed if it weren't for grizzly bear's bravery. That is all.

### III Two Brothers And A Wife

In an open flat surrounded by cottonwoods there stood a large and beautiful tipi of white buckskin. Two brothers lived there. Older Brother was married and Younger Brother lived with them. The husband gathered wood around the camp and tended his traps. His wife prepared the game that  
 5 Younger Brother killed. One morning the husband went out to tend his traps and left his brother making arrows, bows and bowstrings. His sister-in-law called to him. She was beading a new dress and was putting some elk teeth on the shoulders. She pointed to a tree and said, "Would you please shoot that little bird for me?" He killed it and said, "Here is your little bird.  
 10 It is such a small bird but I suppose you have a use for it." She thanked him. Later he went hunting. Soon he knew he wasn't going to find any game. He headed home intending to hunt the next day. He noticed that neither his brother nor his sister-in-law were speaking to him. When he awoke they still ignored him. He ate and went hunting again. He walked and walked,  
 15 over mountains and across rivers, but couldn't find any game. His dog followed him everywhere. He came to a lone tree and saw a mountain chicken sitting on a limb about twenty-five feet off the ground. He shot it but it fell only part way and lodged between the branches. He climbed after it until he should have been near it. He looked at his dog and the dog nodded  
 20 that it was higher still. So he climbed and climbed. He stopped to rest

and looked at his dog who was by this time very far below. The dog nodded again for him to go on. The last time he looked down he could no longer see his dog. The dog sat there all day waiting but his master didn't return. Older Brother wondered why his brother wasn't back by dark. In  
25 the morning he began looking in all the places he knew. He found nothing anywhere, but just as he was turning back he heard a dog barking. That was on the third day of his search. The barking was very faint because of the mountains and the way the wind blew. He found the dog sitting at the base of a huge tree, looking up. He asked the dog where his master had gone and  
30 the dog said, "Do you remember when my master shot that little bird for your wife? I was laying there by the tipi. Your wife took the bird and cut its legs off. Then she scratched herself all over with the claws. She told you that my master had tried to rape her. She told you a bad lie. You believed her and ignored him. Now he has gone up this tree into  
35 another country and he will never come back." The husband returned to his camp. He loaded his bow and walked up behind his wife. She was afraid when she saw him. He accused her of lying, but she denied it. She told the truth after he told her the dog's story. He shot her, she screamed and died. Then her husband swallowed everything--tipi and tipi poles, clothing,  
40 and the food. He changed himself into a small man and was very fat, very ugly, dirty and lousy. Then he started away from there. He traveled for many days until he came into a country that was very cold and was covered with deep snow. He stumbled along over logs because he was so short. He was very cold and his nose ran. He wiped his runny nose with his shirt  
45 sleeves and soon his sleeves were covered with frozen mucous. As he walked along toward late afternoon he saw boys and girls playing on the ice ahead. They saw him standing there and called him over, thinking he was bashful. Some of the bigger boys dragged him over to the others. They tripped him until he fell on the ice. They laughed and laughed because he looked so  
50 funny, short and fat with uncombed hair. They grabbed his feet and spun him around and around. All he could do was cry loudly. Supper time came and the children went home, leaving him behind. As it became dark he was very cold and his teeth chattered. An old woman came after water. She had white, uncombed hair and wore dirty clothes. She saw him standing there  
55 on the ice and she called, "Hey there, hey there. Please come home with me. I'm your grandmother. Please come over. Don't be afraid. No one will harm you. Come, boy, come." He walked over and went with her to her shabby tipi at the far end of the camp. She fed him and dried his clothes by the fire. He stayed there and lived with his grandmother. Many days passed.  
60 Spring brought warm weather. One day the Chief announced that he had two grown daughters who were ready to marry. They were beautiful in every way. Coyote, the camp announcer, told everybody about them. Each bachelor had to trap both a pure black fox and a pure white one to be able to compete for the girls. All the young men rushed around making and setting their  
65 traps. The Chief had men to judge the finest pelts. The one who had the best pelts would marry one girl. If no one else had any good pelts he would get both girls as his wives. All this time the ugly, little boy stayed with his grandmother and turned somersaults. Day after day he turned somersaults from the door of his tipi around and around. Then he reversed his  
70 turns and went back to where he had started. His grandmother asked, "Why don't you go out and set your traps? You might get the best pelts and win a beautiful wife." He said, "Oh, yes, Grandmother. Would you go

out and set traps for me? Set one on each side of our doorway." She did that. In the morning Coyote announced that it was time for everyone to  
75 look at their traps. Coyote had been sneaking around comparing trapped foxes. He found two fine foxes and put his own in their place. Soon all the trappers came back carrying their catches. Grandmother found two beautiful foxes in her grandson's traps. She told him to take them to be judged, and he said, "Oh, Granny. Would you be so kind as to take my pelts  
80 over and show them for me, please?" When the judges saw his pelts they decided that should be given both girls. But Coyote shouted and argued that he was being treated unfairly and that he deserved another try. The Chief said, "That is all right but this time it will be final. That is the law. If anyone says any more I will forget everything." The judges talked  
85 together. They announced that there was an eagle perched on a high tree near camp. They had Coyote announce the next morning that the men should try to shoot down the eagle. Each man could use two arrows because there were two girls. Coyote went around inside the camp circle yelling it was time to shoot at the eagle. All the while he was shooting at it, but his  
90 bow was not powerful enough and the arrows all fell short. A judge saw him and disqualified him. The young men lined up for the shooting. Soon they had all taken their turns and had failed. So the judges called for the old woman's grandson to try to shoot the eagle down. She told him to go out and try. He stopped somersaulting and said, "Oh, Grandmother, would  
95 you please make me a bow and two arrows?" Then he began somersaulting again, laughing and laughing. She answered, "But what shall I make them of?" He stopped and told her to go out to the right side of the tipi doorway and pick up a bone there and to cut two rosebushes growing there. She tied a piece of buckskin to the elk bone, making the bow. He told her  
100 to leave the sticks unsharpened. Then he went bashfully out to the tree. One little boy made a loud noise and he ran screaming behind his grandmother. They had to coax him back out to shoot. At his shot, the eagle spread his wings and whistled. Then he shot it to the ground. The crowd cheered loudly and danced around. The boy threw down his bow, ran back  
105 to the tipi and began somersaulting. He had won both girls and that night the Chief sent them over to his tipi. When they got there they saw how shabby and dirty the tipi was. The older girl decided that she was going to withdraw from the marriage and went to Raven instead. The younger girl stepped inside. The boy hid behind his grandmother and asked her to tell  
110 his wife to return in the morning. She went home and told her parents what had happened. Then the boy told his grandmother to take everything out of the tipi. Then he told her to get some birch bark and cover the floor with it. Then he told her to go outside and wait until he called her back inside. But before she went he had her hang him up by his feet from the  
115 center of the tipi. He vomited all the bad things out of his stomach. He called Grandmother inside to carry it out and lay down instead all of her good blankets. He sent her outside once more. Then he threw up all the dried meat, bitterroot, blankets, poles and white buckskin tipi. When dawn came his young wife came back. She saw a beautiful, white tipi  
120 standing where the dirty one had been. She thought that someone had come in the night and had driven her husband away. But Grandmother saw her and took her inside to sit by her husband. She saw a very handsome man sitting there. The old woman prepared a meal. When it was ready he told his wife to bring her parents. After they had eaten he gave them gifts of



125 blankets, dried meat, fish, and roots. They thanked him and returned home. The winter was very long that year. The people ran short of wood and buffalo meat. The Chief called the young men to a meeting. They talked about a big hunt. The husband told his wife to go to her father's tipi and have him make a pair of snowshoes like her father's own pair. The Chief made  
130 him a pair just like his own. They were painted red on both sides. He hung them outside his tipi to dry. The Chief's older daughter asked her father to make Raven a pair of snowshoes. She saw the beautiful pair he had just made and asked to whom they belonged. He told her they belonged to her brother-in-law. She didn't think he should have such a fine pair.  
135 But her husband, Raven, had to get along with a pair of snowshoes that were not so good as his brother-in-law's. The hunters left early one morning on their long hunt. The Chief's son-in-law hunted away from the rest of the men, hunting in the same direction as they were. The other men didn't know who he was, but they knew he was from their camp. After several days  
140 the men camped one very cold night. The next morning they saw this man come into their camp. They learned he was Raven's brother-in-law. He wore a warm, white buckskin jacket, a new pair of moccasins, and some warm gloves. The men were very cold. They could see the red tracks where he had walked. They traveled for several more cold days and became even more  
145 tired and cold. They decided to go back, but the handsome one wanted to go on. They argued with him saying that they hadn't seen any buffalo tracks and that it was useless to go further. He told them that one day soon he would come back with buffalo. Then they should stand in two lines and he would chase the buffalo into their center. Then they could herd them closer  
150 to camp and butcher them there. Raven was out of food and was glad to go back. After several days, the handsome one saw where a herd had bedded down. They were nowhere in sight but there was manure scattered over the snow. He turned each piece of manure over. Then he turned his back and sang medicine songs. After he had sung four songs he turned around. The  
155 buffalo were just rising. He counted two hundred head and then he began chasing them back. After long, hard work he caught up to the other hunters. Then they all herded the buffalo back to camp where everyone was waiting, waving shirts to stop the running buffalo. The women brought their men water, food, dry jackets, and dry gloves. Raven's wife looked for  
160 her husband. She saw the handsome man and wanted to care for him instead. He wouldn't take the water that she offered him and sent her away. He told her to tend to her husband, his brother-in-law. The Chief said that one buffalo would be killed for each tipi and the rest would be put in a corral. The handsome man picked out a skinny buffalo and killed it. It  
165 was really the fattest one and he had his wife take it to her father. One morning they found the herd gone. The corral gate had been opened during the night. They called a meeting and selected Snake, a very swift runner, and Prairie Dog, an excellent tracker, to recover the herd. They all knew that Raven and his wife had taken the herd because their camp was gone.  
170 Snake and Prairie Dog hunted the rest of the winter before they found signs of a camp. They saw some small arrows and a little bow, and they knew that Raven's wife had a baby. Soon they found a place where the ground was still warm. There they saw a bigger bow and arrows and they knew the child was older. Finally they saw the tipi and they crawled quietly up to it.  
175 They peeked inside, saw it was empty and went in. They heard the child coming and were afraid of being seen. Snake turned himself into a bitter-

root pick and Prairie Dog changed himself into a puppy. The boy came  
 in and said, "Oh, here is my pick that I left here. Oh, nice puppy. I  
 won't leave you alone again." He played with them and then he wondered  
 180 what his puppy would do if he saw the buffalo. He took the puppy over to  
 his father's bed and lifted it up. Under the trapdoor, in a hole in the  
 ground, were the buffalo. The puppy snarled and he shut the door. The  
 boy thought he had a good hunting partner. He lifted the door again and  
 the puppy jumped from his arms and stampeded the buffalo out through the  
 185 back of the tipi. Snake and Prairie Dog became themselves again and rode  
 on the backs of two buffalo, shouting to keep them running. Raven and  
 his wife were digging bitterroot when they heard the roaring sound. They  
 thought their son had turned the buffalo loose, but they heard the shout-  
 ing. Raven ran to a far mountain pass and waited to see who had taken the  
 190 herd. But he saw no one and he ran to the next pass. He saw no one be-  
 cause Snake and Prairie Dog were hiding between the front legs of two buf-  
 falo. Two owls had been selected to watch for them. They could see for  
 many miles. One day they saw the herd coming. Everybody went out to meet  
 them. They put the herd back in the corral and the Chief posted four guards  
 195 during the day and four others during the night. Raven didn't steal the  
 herd after that. That is all.

#### IIJ The Headman's Daughter

One time there was a camp. There was a very beautiful young girl who was  
 a good cook, a good housekeeper, and a fine clothing-maker. Her father and  
 mother were proud of her. She had decided not to marry until she was older.  
 After several years she still hadn't married. She became pregnant and all  
 5 the people wondered who the father was. The Chief held a meeting to de-  
 cide who the father had been. All the men sat in a row. Then the baby  
 was passed from one to the next. The baby had cried since birth and they  
 thought the one who held her when she stopped crying would be her father.  
 The baby still cried. Then they lined up the young married men. The baby  
 10 didn't stop crying. Soon all the men in the village had passed the test.  
 There was an old man there who did chores around the girl's tipi. He  
 usually scratched the girl's shins after he carried water for her. He  
 liked her very much because she was such a beautiful person. They called  
 him over but everyone knew he was too old. He shook all over and could  
 15 move only his fingers. He said, "Oh, now, now. Let us not be foolish.  
 I will only be wasting my strength to get up and sit with the rest, but if  
 it will make you happy I will." They passed the baby down the line of lit-  
 tle children. Coyote had taken some grease from a deer bone and had hid-  
 den it in his armpit. When the baby reached him he stuck the grease in its  
 20 mouth to quiet it. The baby stopped crying, and Coyote shouted, "Hey,  
 hey, oh, look. The baby has stopped crying. I am the father." But they  
 had seen him using the grease and the people ran Coyote off. The old man  
 took the baby and rocked it in his arms. She fell asleep as he hummed.  
 Everyone was ashamed and moved their camp away from there. The girl did  
 25 all the work and the old man took care of the baby. One day the girl went  
 after water and saw where a buck deer had eaten pine needles. Her husband  
 told her to make a bow and some arrows. The next morning he grunted and  
 shook himself. Then he hid and waited for the deer. His arms shook when

he shot the buck through the neck. His wife dragged it home and skinned  
 30 it. One day her husband told her to gather some tipi poles and to set  
 them up nearby. Then he said, "Go get a rope and tie me up by my feet.  
 Throw the rope over the tipi poles and pull me as high up as you can."  
 Then he told her to go away from there and not to look back. Soon she  
 heard heavy things falling to the ground. Her husband called her back  
 35 inside. She saw a huge tipi and a handsome man standing in the doorway.  
 Before she had left he had told her to leave all her clothes behind. She  
 was ashamed because he was looking at her. He said, "Now don't be ashamed.  
 I am your husband. Come here and you will find new clothes." There was  
 plenty of deer and elk meat in there, too. Children were taught never  
 40 to refuse help to old people else they would not have happy dreams and  
 rewarding lives. That is all.

#### IIK Mountain Sheep Boy

Long ago, a man and his family lived high in mountain sheep country.  
 Every day the man hunted mountain sheep and his wife gathered wild roots.  
 Their son played around in the rocks. After several weeks there the man  
 had to hunt and hunt to find any game. The sheep weren't coming down  
 5 the nearby trail they had always followed from place to place. His wife  
 was finding fewer and fewer roots. They were eating less and less and they  
 were becoming very hungry. One evening their son stopped playing earlier  
 than usual. He came back to the tipi, sat before his parents, and asked,  
 "Why is it that you can kill no sheep and can get no roots? I'm getting  
 10 very hungry." His father told him that the sheep were still there. He  
 saw fresh sign each morning, but he was never waiting for them at the  
 right time. His mother told the same thing about the roots. The boy  
 said, "I know the time when the sheep pass and I know the time when the  
 roots come up. The sheep pass at exactly midnight, but not before or  
 15 after. That's when the roots grow, but toward morning they work themselves  
 back underground. Only the sick ones stay above the ground." He went on,  
 "My father, tonight you will be waiting just before midnight along the  
 sheep trail. You will soon see a large herd of sheep coming. You will  
 kill only one. Bring it back without letting it touch the ground. Bring  
 20 it through the rear of the tipi. If I'm asleep wake me." Then he turned  
 to his mother and said, "Mother, tonight at exactly midnight you will go  
 to where you dig roots. Build a fire and you will see many roots there.  
 Now I am going to bed." So then the parents waited as they had been told.  
 At midnight they went out. The boy's mother built a fire and was surprised  
 25 to see the ground covered with roots. She began digging them up. The boy's  
 father waited until he heard the sound of horns hitting stone. He saw  
 many sheep coming up the trail out of their hiding place. He picked a fat  
 one, killed it, and carried it on his back, not letting it touch the ground  
 anywhere. When he got home his wife had already raised the back side of  
 30 the tipi for him. He woke his son. The boy got up and directed his father  
 to cut the sheep open down the middle. Then he was to remove all the  
 tripe and was told to cut out all the fat along the backbone. He was to  
 separate out the meat there from the backbone fat and give it to his son  
 to eat. Then he told his parents to go ahead and eat their fill. The next  
 35 evening he told his father, "Tonight you will kill the baby sheep for me.

When you skin it leave the ears, hooves, tail and everything on the hide. After that you may kill any sheep you want. Just give me the fat next to the backbone." The boy had met a stranger who had told him when to find the sheep and roots, and to bring to him a young sheep's hide with every-

40 thing on it. The boy's father killed a baby sheep. After carefully skinning it he gave the hide to his son. Time went on. Soon they had much dried meat and roots. One day Father asked his son, "Why don't you let your mother eat some of that backfat you've been eating. Don't you think she might like to eat some, too?" The boy listened quietly. Then he

45 reached behind him and covered himself with the sheepskin. He made sure that his head, arms, and legs were covered and then he began to cry. His father tried to comfort him, but he tired and his wife tried to comfort her son. The parents went to sleep and left their son there crying. Later the man got up and looked at his son. His son looked very much like

50 a young sheep. Father called to his wife, "Look. Look at our son. I think he has become a sheep. Jump up. Let's try to catch him. Watch the door and I'll go behind him." Then the boy jumped up and ran around inside the tipi, his parents trying to hold him. But he escaped out the back of the tipi. They lost him in the woods. They waited week after week

55 for him to return and his father hunted for him each day. Soon they had no more dried meat or roots and they became very hungry. They decided to go down the mountain to the village of their people. There they told what had happened in the mountains. The next spring they returned to their mountain camp. The father looked for his son without success. One night

60 as he sat waiting for the sheep to pass he saw a big, fat sheep leading the herd. The sheep walked up to him in his hiding place and said, "Now look at me, look at me closely. I'm your son. I'm full-grown now. I have my own father and mother in the herd behind me. The one that is following me is my brother, the next is my other brother, and the one after him is

65 my uncle." Then the sheep-boy told his father of his other relations on down through the herd. He told his father to shoot the last sheep because he wasn't any relation. The boy's father and mother intended to stay on the mountain until they starved to death. Each night Father was to shoot the last sheep. Then they had plenty of dried meat and roots again.

70 One night his son came to him on the trail and said, "My father, I would like to see my mother just as I am once more. Bring her with you tomorrow night so I may speak with her." They waited the next night. The lead sheep stopped and said, "Hello, Mother. I am your son although I don't look like him. This will be the last time I speak with you. But I and my

75 herd will pass through here each year when you camp here. You, my father, always shoot the last sheep. From now on I will not speak with you. I have my own home now and I am happy. You should never worry about me. I will be fine. When you see the herd coming you will always know I am the leader. Goodbye, my father, and you, my mother." Then his father

80 shot the last sheep. Soon they had enough meat to last them all winter and they returned to their people. The next year they went back to their hunting place. After a time they had plenty of meat and roots. But one night Father decided to shoot a big, fat sheep that wasn't last in line. He shot one in the middle of the herd, and another one, and another one.

85 He began gathering those he had killed but he couldn't find any of them. In his excitement he hadn't seen them coming to life and running away.

So he went back to his wife and told her that he hadn't seen any sheep. But as they already had plenty of meat they started home. Toward the middle of the next summer they packed and headed for their hunting place. 90 They set up their tipi and he went out to look at the game trail, expecting to see it covered with sign. But the trail was overgrown with brush and there were no tracks anywhere. He sat there all night but no game went by. His wife told him she hadn't found any roots either. Father knew then that his son controlled the game and the roots. He knew, too, that he 95 had broken the law when he shot the wrong sheep the year before. They talked it over and decided to stay there anyway until they died. So they lived on until they died without ever seeing their son again. That is all.

### III Water Man And Woodpecker

Woodpecker and his wife lived in a big camp. Woodpecker was the most handsome man there and his wife treated him with the best of care. She kept his clothes clean and neat. She picked service berries for him every day, bringing back only the biggest and juiciest. She cleaned them and cooked 5 them for him when he returned from hunting. One day, while gathering berries, she became thirsty and went to a small, clear lake. She could see the moss and small stones at the borrom of the pool. She drank and sat there looking into the pool. She saw something moving deep down in the pool. It was a man dressed in white spotted clothes. He came out of the water and sat on 10 the bank beside her. She saw that he was more handsome than her husband. He spoke softly and with kind words to her. She felt herself being drawn toward him. Soon she was feeding him the fine berries she had picked for her husband. By evening all the fine berries were gone and she told the man goodbye until the next time. On the way home she hurriedly picked 15 all shapes and kinds of berries for her husband. She gave them to him, saying, "Here are your berries. Please eat them." Woodpecker looked at them and saw they were poor berries. He ate the best ones and wondered why she had treated him so badly. The next day she left early and picked only the best berries. She spent the day with Water Man and hurried home 20 with another poor bunch of berries. This time Woodpecker knew she had met another man more handsome than he and she was feeding him the good berries. He followed her out of sight until she reached the lake. He saw the man come out of the water and begin to have intercourse with her. He sneaked up to them and said, "Now you must die for you are ruining our home." 25 Woodpecker shot both of them and as Water Man sank into the lake he took all the rivers, creeks, lakes and streams with him. Everything went dry. The only water left ran slowly from Water Man's forehead. Soon all the people came and waited for their turn to fill their cups. That is all.

### IIM The Whale Sisters

A man and his wife were camped on a cliff near a lake. The husband went out hunting each day. While he was gone his wife was lonely. He told her, "When I am away and you see a thunderstorm forming, think of me and you won't be lonesome." She agreed to do so. One day she took a long bath in the 5 lake. She swam far out into the lake and then swam back to the shore. She didn't see the thing that came and sat on her clothes. Finally she decided

that she had been in the water long enough. She almost lost her breath when she saw him. He was big and ugly and he had long fingernails, a very large nose and broad shoulders. He stared at her. She didn't know if he  
10 was alive. He said, "Young woman, you must call me as your close relative. When you have guessed who I am, I will move and let you put your clothes on." She pleaded with him to go away and leave her alone, but he just sat there. She became cold and began calling him her relatives' names. She called him, "Father, mother, sister, brother, aunt, uncle, grandfather, and  
15 grandmother," until she could think of no other close relatives. Then she said, "Oh, my husband, will you please move so I can put my clothes on?" He moved over then. He grabbed her, put her on his back, flew over the ground and up into the sky. After a long time he slowed down. Everywhere there was water. He glided down to an island and landed. They walked through  
20 swamps and marshes until they came to a clearing. She saw a huge tipi standing near two smaller ones. She met the man's three Whale sisters. The next day she went with the girls to gather seaweed. The four of them went in a small boat. She paddled and saw she was pulling three small boats. The seaweed was for her new husband whose bed had to be changed every day.  
25 He always rolled around at night and tore up his bed. The Whale girls told her to fill the boats with seaweed. When her knife blade dulled they each handed her theirs. She lived among the whales for many days. Her husband returned home and began searching for her. He finally caught Meadowlark, broke his legs, and asked him where his wife was. Meadowlark answered,  
30 "Why did you break my poor legs? Now I can't walk." He said, "If I fix your leg for you, will you tell me where I can find my wife?" Meadowlark said, "Well, I'll have to try my legs first. If they are all right I'll tell you." So the husband carved a leg from a bush and tied it to Meadowlark's leg. Meadowlark limped a little but thought he was all right. He  
35 said, "Your wife took a bath in the lake. White Whale took her far away from here. She is on an island, not too far out from the coast." Meadowlark pointed to the west and said it would take two days to get there on foot. When the husband arrived at the coast he made a small raft. It was dark when he reached the island. After hiding and watching for several  
40 days he went to where his wife was working. He spread his long hair in every direction. She cut his hair and found him there. He told her to tickle Whale until he fell asleep that night. Then he cut Whale's throat and they raced for their boat. When they looked back they saw the water rising. The Whale sisters had found their dead brother. They laughed as  
45 his head popped in and out of his body. Then they cried and chased the wife to get back their brother's baby and the comb he had given his wife. Husband asked his wife what she was hiding. He fought with her until he found the comb. He threw it in the water and the water quit rising. Then the water began rising again. So again he fought his wife. He stamped  
50 on her stomach and a baby whale flew out in the ocean. The water never raised again after that. That is all.

## Chapter Four

## Notes

- 1/ Radin's definitions of myth and tale (and also legend) were taken from class notes recorded by Dusenberry in Radin's course in primitive literature at Brandeis University in 1959.
- 2/ Narrators and interpreters were, per narrative: Pete Beaverhead: Pat Adams (IB, IC, IE, IIA2, IIA3, III and IIJ), Pete: Josephine (ID, IIA1, IIA4, IIA5, IIB1, IIB2, IIC1, IIC2, IID, IIE, IIF, IIG, IIH, IIK. IIL and IIM), and Pete-Pat: Josephine (IA).

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE NARRATION COMPLEX

#### Narration As Ritual:

No complex narration sessions were observed under natural conditions, but it was possible to create small scale artificial settings on occasion when unexpected visitors dropped by the Beaverhead home. The circumstances surrounding formalized gettogethers, past and present, were reconstructed largely by informant discussion.

Few descriptions of the overt acts involved in narration appear in ethnographic literature. Knowledge of such procedural variables as time of telling, composition by age and sex of the auditor group, physical location, audience response, and raconteur status helps to understand a particular ethnic way of formalizing or licensing narration behavior. Indeed, without data to assist in the placement of the narration activity within the framework of the religious life as well as the total system, the narrative becomes a crudely abstracted artifact, its associations destroyed by removal from context.

Recollections as to the details of the aboriginal storytelling session were too vague to allow comparison with later modifications. A single negative sanction remained to restrict the telling of stories to the wintertime. Pete, Blind Mose and Joe Woodcock were together in a house and Joe asked Mose to tell a story. Mose replied, "I shouldn't. Tomorrow there would be snow." It was early in the fall, but they urged him to go ahead. The next morning there was five inches of snow on the ground. Bullsnares and rattlesnakes were known to have entered the homes of the Camas Prairie Indians upon violation of the taboo.



Weisel (n.d.:2) reported of the Flathead " . . . that formerly only old men and women told the stories, and they could be narrated only when there was snow on the ground, for if they were told in the spring after the snow had melted, a snake would wrap itself about the leg of the storyteller when he went walking." The distribution of this requirement is widespread as evidenced by a similar custom among the Winnebago. In this connection Bergen (1895:51) wrote: "The old people do not like to tell their stories after the spring opens. The children are told that they would see snakes if they should listen to tales during warm weather." Similarly, among the Upper Chehalis (Adamson 1934:xii), "In olden times the people never told stories in the summer for fear snakes would crawl through the door. They waited until the drizzling fall rains had set in, or until after the first flurry of snow. As soon as spring came, they stopped in order to make the spring last a long time."

It is not a simple matter to understand the meaning of this negative sanction in its relation to Upper Pend Oreille ceremonial observances or to the central nature of the worship construct. The fact that forced idleness during the winter period may have tended perhaps to encourage more frequent social discourse among the few bands situated nearby may partially explain the seasonal preference. The spring, summer and fall periods were characterized by more intense movement and active engagement in the procurement of foods for the impending winter as well, thus reducing the amount of time and energy allowable for expenditure in casual social intercourse. The important annual observances were held in the spring and summer with the exception of the Mid-Winter rite, and narration with its inherent and traditional attractions in fulfilling central cultural needs may have been more

necessary to confirm the social order during the winter period.

The variety of regular and informal occasions in which narration occurred indicates a thorough integration of the complex within that of all other life activities. The woman's view of the frequent evening gettogethers follows:

During wintertime years ago, there was a bunch of us here. One man would stop and pick up a friend, and they would go like to Qee-quee-su's and get him to tell stories. There was always the midnite meal. I used to hate it because I had to stay up till much later to do the cooking --- bitterroot, dried huckleberries, wild dried chokecherries mixed with black thornberries (which keeps them moist) pounded up. The men hunted and trapped in the old days when they weren't thinking about war. We had to haul in wood, make moccasins and do everything. We had few opportunities for socializing when in camp while the men had a lot of time to sit around and tell stories in between wars when the sentries were out. We mainly gossiped when we got together. No women ever told stories among men then. Now old women can come in and tell these stories in a mixed group of younger people.

When adults invited others to visit their homes, only the old men would tell the stories. The practice of titling, as such, was unknown to the Upper Pend Oreille. A catchword or series of catchwords dealing with outstanding events, bizarre occurrences, or humorous happenings ordinarily enabled an individual to recall a story. When families go together all would tell stories. Children were permitted to listen, but they were never forced to attend; they didn't take much interest as it was tiresome listening to "them old people". Youngsters were told "fairy tales" to put them to sleep when their parents were visiting. Though "fairy tales" were told in the presence of children, their elders had similar sessions. There was no age limit on auditors.

Narrators apparently had limited license in the earlier period. The few remaining narrators of excessive age, however, seem to pretty well have their own way. Qee-quee-su's statement, "I might be mistaken in places, but I'll try to tell it the way it was," tends to infer adherence to a preferred traditional delivery pattern. At times when

Pete was relating a story when Pat and Mrs. Beaverhead were present, the non-narrators offered information which they considered more accurate to correct the flow of a story. Mrs. Beaverhead was intensely annoyed at Pat's preference for loose paraphrasing in modern jive idiom, and she repeatedly admonished him to tell the stories the way they actually were. The oft-repeated assertion that Upper Pend Oreille narratives were not made up or imaginary but were real happenings also placed important limitations on raconteurial license. Deviation was tolerable only within specified limits. Jacobs (1934:x) was conscious of the need to acquire situational data. In a discussion of Klikitat and Cowlitz myths, he noted, ". . . should the raconteur wander from the mainstream of the narrative or diverge into a side channel of gossip or other irrelevance, one of the auditors might admonish by calling out, 'Your myth might float away!'"

Audience response was not possible to observe directly. However, it often occurred that Upper Pend Oreille auditors responded in assent or agreement with nodding of the head and low sighs of approval. Jacobs (*ibid.*) again contributes a parallel practice, ". . . each sentence or perhaps each phrase of the narrative was concluded with an affirmative semiritual call of 'Yes!' from the auditors, who if awake were expected to respond regularly in that somewhat fatiguing manner. In these skeptical, degenerate, modern days the myths are often received by a merely smiling or even relatively unresponsive audience." Adamson (1934:xii) recorded a slightly more complicated ritual for the Upper Chehalis. The narrator and audience had to lie on their backs while stories were being told to avoid the growth of bumps on their backs. Only the fireman was allowed to stir around. Listeners were permitted

to say only 'hamu' qui' in appreciation and to urge the narrator on. Two stories were always told in succession. It was considered bad manners for a child to fall asleep or ask for something to eat while an old person was narrating.

Laughter, of course, followed Upper Pend Oreille recital of hilarious events or absurdities on the part of certain characters. Alteration of the narrator's voice to a high pitched, exaggerated tone often accompanied the antics of Coyote. Auditors were thoroughly amused and laughed aloud. Events which aroused amusement by reason of their dealing with organs analogous to the human privates or excrement were appreciated less by the women present than by the men, probably more because of my presence than for any other reason. No one was insulted among close friends when a "story like that" was introduced, but it was considered improper to relate such incidents in the presence of an outsider.

The length of various traditional narratives oftentimes prohibited their telling except in situations which allowed several hours narration. When circumstances were such that a story could be continued the following day or evening, narration would pick up at the interrupted point and proceed to conclusion. The rate of hand recording slowed the narration rate, and thereby limited the number of such stories that were collected. The narrator notified the auditors of the end of a story by saying, "N' tsī qa", which meant "That is all!" Vogt (1940:43) observed a similar situation when a narrative he was recording was interrupted by a time shortage. His Kalispel informant said that the tale would have taken another three more weeks at that rate of recording, but he added that he was willing to say: "That's the

end!" in any place Vogt wanted him to.

Wakes for the deceased provide a modern opportunity for storytelling. The classes of narratives told under those conditions of mourning were no different in content than stories told in more frivolous surroundings.

Numerous war dances were held in the homes during the 1930's. A person who lost a feather would have to tell a story. He might have given a feather to an older person so that he would have to tell a short war story derived from his personal experiences. Then the teller's relatives would give away shawls, money, blankets, buckskin, beaded work (belts, handbags), never anything worth very little, to the visitors.

Narration As A Process:

In former times social intercourse among the Upper Pend Oreille and their neighbors was more or less localized and continuous. It fluctuated infrequently in response to intermittent ritual commitments. Narratives were related as a familiar aspect of day-to-day socializing as well as being formal adjuncts within sacred contexts. A subsequent population reduction by disease, death and absorption, coupled with a lowered dependency upon some of the established practices have conduced to a less continuous rate of discourse, thereby resulting in the reduced incidence of recitation opportunities. The consequent effects upon individual retention and recall as well as upon the standards surrounding the narration process itself have been generally detrimental.

Elderly men commonly occupied the status of raconteur and their frame of authority encompassed the entire narrative body known. Older women circulated restricted sets of narratives among themselves and characteristically related the less complicated stories to young

children. Women played a subordinate role in a mixed social context in that they were preoccupied with preparing refreshments for the visitors who often remained far into the night. Stories concerned with events and characters deemed appropriate for very young auditors were related early in the storytelling sessions while their attention could be held.

Review of the developmental history of the principal informant, with respect to his acquisition of skills as a raconteur (see Appendix B), reveals what was probably an atypical set of life circumstances. The culture apparently did not provide clear procedures by which young men could ascend to the traditional knowledge and ritual claimed by a class of specialists, even to the simple extent of that practised by the Cherokee (Mooney 1900:230) where boys who desired instruction in tradition met the priests in the low-built sleeping house and sat up all night.

Narration involved the active participation of the auditors. Pend Oreille narrators could request information to fill in memory blanks and auditors could volunteer information to more properly construct a preferred variation of a narrative. Auditors were not harshly critical of narrators. Controls on the raconteur now take lessened cognizance or recognition of departures from preferred content and style variants. Narrators now innovate to maintain as well as to enhance status. Innovation centers around the descriptive peripheries of the narrative rather than upon shifts in plot motives, re-arrangement of event sequences or upon re-characterizations via actor and role re-assignments.

Differences in abilities among narrators were recognized, but the

criteria for gauging success were elusive. Respected raconteurs were found among the older men whose experience (and survival) qualified them as leaders. They often possessed special powers, and as shaman, could rightfully be expected to project their supernatural(s) into their treatment of traditional knowledge and procedures. Their abilities and reputations as shaman, political figure, hunter, warrior and raconteur were usually in keeping with one another. Role-satisfactions were apparently commensurate with self and auditor needs, since exceptionally skilled narrators from previous generations could be recalled readily.

## CHAPTER SIX

### NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

Treatment of the Upper Pend Oreille narratives to this point has consisted primarily of the definition of an ethnographic base, a survey of prior studies and methodology relatable to this work, and the presentation of the Upper Pend Oreille narrative forms. This chapter introduces the use of the ethno-literary analytical technique and the cross-cultural comparative approach. Considered in the literary analysis will be examination of essential literary conditions, content and stylistic attributes, cultural reflections, relationships with reported narratives from other cultural settings, and whatever other criteria are relevant to interpretation or understanding of the individual narrative.

Cross-cultural distributional comparison was attempted first, by the thematic survey of narratives recorded among culturally similar and geographically proximal people, and second, by their comparison with the thematic analyses of the collection under study.<sup>1</sup>

#### Basic Assumptions:

It is the purpose in developing this section to acquaint the reader with a necessarily fluid frame of reference and, at the same time, to construct an operational set of concepts in the light of which to examine the "Upper Pend Oreille" narratives.

The interconnections between narrative style and content are thought to be, from a formal standpoint, the most revealing aspect of ethno-literary endeavor. The term "style" is often used interchangeably with "structure", "form" and "morphology". Each of these terms, however unfortunate its connotations, does imply the existence of a system of



narrative attributes bound by conventional strictures; further, each suggests a coherent and patterned articulation among constituent elements or units. As Levi-Strauss (1955:431) has advocated, "If there is meaning to be found in mythology, this cannot reside in the isolated elements which enter into the composition of a myth, but only in the way those elements are combined." It is this characteristic arrangement of attributes and the methods by which they are related internally through which style becomes manifest. Style, then, is a distinctive mode of expression or the execution thereof. Lest we project upon style an unwarranted uniformity, we should consider Boas' (1955:337) admonition that:

It must not be assumed that the literary style of the people is uniform, on the contrary the forms are quite varied. I have pointed out before that unity of style is not found in decorative art either, that many cases may be adduced in which different styles are used in different industries or among different groups of the population. Just so we find in a tribe complex tales that have definite structural cohesion and brief anecdotes; some told with an evident appreciation of detail, others almost reduced to a formula.

Two main elements of style are the ways that the fundamental idea(s) is or are expressed and the principles guiding its divisions. The fundamental idea refers to the motives of the raconteur, whether they be to inform, instruct, entertain, or to fulfill other purposes, separately or simultaneously. Motives defined and channelled by the culture may be latent and reside at the unconscious level in the individual in the unquestioned context of tradition. Motives are manifest in plot. Again, as Boas (1955:329) has noted, "The inherent relation between literary type and culture appears also clearly in narrative. The motives of action are determined by the mode of life and the chief interests of the people, and the plots give us the picture of

these." Awareness of the principles of division allows insight into the array of ways from among which the raconteur may select means of relieving strain upon his auditors or by which he may satisfy their psycho-social expectations; this may be accomplished in part by adding explanatory material or by deleting familiar material. The important thing is that the rendition is culturally motivated and that appropriate values are communicated in such a manner that intrinsic social motives are satisfied.

Style is manifest in oral literature, not by mechanical devices as are evident in written literature, but by various arrangements of material. Some types of logical methods are: material organization denoting movements from simple to complex, familiar to unfamiliar situations, known to unknown, chronological (past-present-future) or vice versa, and shift in locus from near to far. A common rhetorical device that signals the auditor group of a forthcoming division in delivery is the use of terms denoting progression, regression or change of scene.

The sources of style lie within the subject matter (content) and the raconteur's intent. The consequent arrangement of content elements or higher level thematic criteria (plots or themes) results from interplay at several strata of social perception:

- 1) The cultural repertoire of established narratives and narration habits,
- 2) The raconteur's perception of his role as it relates to his other concurrent life roles, and as it is affected by his knowledge of the acceptable range of techniques for improving the clarity of his expression, and
- 3) The extent to which group personal-social needs linked intimately with tradition are relevant to modern needs at the cultural level. Conflicting needs (by reference to incompatible value demands) may affect his performance by

forced re-definition of his role. Thus he may deviate from established patterns as a means of satisfying his status needs and the reciprocal social motives of his contemporaries.

Style, then, is a function of inter- and intra-cultural forces conjoining to resolve mandatory social needs. Latent style thus resists attempted alteration to the degree that it constitutes an adequate mechanism for the satisfaction of socially related needs.

Content, on the other hand, is a projection of the subject matter. Such substantives may be physical or symbolic realities whose meanings may lie in times past, present time, or, rarely, in the future. Incipient symbolism may evade interpretation in terms of modern life situations since content is only as important and as meaningful as the stylizations surrounding its rendition allow it to be. The spectacular event or bizarre happening may or may not continue to stimulate interest or to evoke other stereotyped reaction, dependent upon the degree to which the presentation affords opportunity for symbolic reference and associations relevant to existing group requirements. Vestigial events or practices require especial interpretive treatment.

Unlike style, contentives may be worked into an alien narrative body without disturbing the arrangement of pre-existing constituents or their manner of expression. Simple displacement of items may occur as substantives more relevant in time and place make their way into the literature, thereby to effect improved communication. Thus it is that style and narrative structure often retain their distinctive qualities, usually at the loss or re-combination of contentives.

Thematic analysis, or, as it is more popularly known, content analysis, is based upon the assumption that cultural meanings may be derived through the study of elements, motives, themes, actors, and

plots. Arrangement of contentives and their consequent semantic references to life concepts and situations indicate more than mere mythical reference to a former time. These factors are conditioned by tradition but are influenced by the present and reveal, under ordinary conditions, a distinctive cultural way of conceptualizing the external world while portraying characteristic environmental adaptations.

For reasons previously stated the individual narrative comparative notes in the forthcoming section were limited to consideration of thematic aspects, primarily because of the anticipated loss of important stylistic characteristics in cross-language rendition. Lacking requisite knowledge of the native language and thereby forfeiting the possibility of establishing estimates of syntactical intricacies and morphemic nuances, the analyst was forced to depend upon recognition of other determinants to render style visible and amendable to study.

#### Discussion Of Individual Narratives:

Each narrative is described and analysed in terms of its ethnoliterary peculiarities and is presented in modified tabular form. Identical criteria could not be applied consistently to each narrative, considering the apparent heterogeneity in both the secondary stylistic characteristics and the multiformity of contentives expressed. The effort cannot pretend to be comprehensive; it does, however, add an important analytical and comparative perspective by which to relate these narratives to those gathered among other peoples at a time when western and other-ethnic influences played a lesser contaminating role. The inquiry also serves to elaborate upon narrative specifics and their relations to the cultural life of the Upper Pend Oreille, past and present.

The following references were coded for brevity because of their repeated use in cross-cultural comparison:

- FSS Folktales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes  
 AACD An Analysis of Coeur d'Alene Myths  
 NPT Nez Perce Texts  
 FIM The Flathead Indians of Montana  
 KL The Kalispel Language  
 TPSS Some Tales of the Southern Puget Sound Salish  
 KT Kutenai Tales

IA The Origin of the Seasons

**Abstract:** The world was split in half and occupied by the Cold Birds and the Warm Birds. The Cold Birds were dissatisfied and organized a contest to decide whether the world should be cold or warm. The Cold Birds competed unfairly, killed all the Warm Birds with the exception of Grandmother, and caused the world to be frozen. Bullhead found the drowned pregnant mother and delivered the unborn son. The child grew rapidly to manhood, returned to save his grandmother, and challenged the Cold Birds' supremacy. Using their tactics, he defeated them. He revived his family and designated each member as a keeper of a season. He relegated his competitors to the mountain heights where they could always enjoy the cold.

**Content:** This narrative expresses life in a time clearly precedent to the human era.<sup>2</sup> Non-human life forms possessing human attributes act out the plot. Constituent elements include: division of world into two units, contest to resolve conflicting interests, supernatural manipulation of natural phenomena, use of artifice in winning contest, post-death delivery of unborn person, sudden growth to maturity, early personal power manifestations, Bullhead as diviner, revenge motive, forced deprivation of Grandmother, forced return contest and reciprocal use of deception to win, revival of relatives from death state, apportionment of seasons among relatives, and judgment of wrongdoers.

References to supernatural occurrences and personages abound. The setting is reputed to have been local. The four-season concept may be one of a number of arbitrary divisions using the sacred four item designation.

**Style:** The narrative consists of a single, bound plot. Linear sequence of events involving age as a criterion among relatives proceeded eldest to youngest. The appearance of items in groups of four (persons, days, and seasons) indicates a retention of this traditional characteristic. Events appear chronologically without temporal digression. Repetition occurs frequently.

**Cultural**

**Reflections:** The division in the social realm may reflect a moiety-like structure. One segment consisted of an extended family unit headed by an elder brother, and the other was a sibling unit. Attitudes regarding the exchange or acquisition of property and power are essentially negative unless the proper formulae are followed; once both have been acquired by unacceptable means, it is possible to rectify the situation by the use of comparable procedures. Once accomplished, the recipient behaves benevolently and shares his wealth with deserving kin. Because of the greivous nature of the offense against Grandmother, *viz.* depriving her of heat and food, the offenders are banished to the heights.

The narrative explains the origin of the seasons. It also provides instruction in that it re-affirms values related to the nature of competition, the duties and reciprocal obligations of youngest son to older relatives (especially in the grandparental generation), the use of property, and its allocation as a group resource. Enemies, once vanquished, should be treated without vehemence.

**Other Ethnic**

**References:** The only plot level comparable material occurred among the Coeur d'Alene. In one instance a controversy took place between Hot and Cold Winds in which "someone" intervened and settled the dispute. A similar situation featured Heat and Cold. Heat prevailed and re-kills his brother, Cold, each spring (FSS 11; 12:124).

**Lines**

25-48

"Bullhead (K'i'k'om) . . . represents one of the more important beings in the Kutenai religious hierarchy" (Schaeffer 1949:7).

30-35

In a Nez Perce narrative, the denizens of the air defeat the land people. One old land woman cuts a boy out of her dead daughter's belly and raises him. Cut-Out-Of-Belly-Boy sets out to avenge his people; the narrative has only these two elements in common (NPT 126-131). Turney-High notes, concerning this element, that "If the mother died before the child was born, no attempt was made to save the infant. It was considered to have died the moment the mother did" among the Flathead (FIM 69). Other more remote parallels appear among the Nez Perce (NPT 126; 131:493).

## IB Bobcat and Lynx

- Abstract:** Two brothers disagreed as to which of them was responsible for having kept their people well-fed. Lynx moved his camp away to see which half of the camp would continue to prosper. Bobcat's group could not locate any deer and they neared starvation. In desperation, they deceived Lynx's scout into leading them to his well-hidden camp to find that the deer had been captured and were being held underground. Bobcat replaced each of Lynx's people with one of his own and managed to assume control of the deer. Rather than killing Lynx, Bobcat allowed him to go underground, and decreed that henceforth Lynx was not his brother and that they would no longer look alike.
- Content:** The setting lies well within the supernatural period and no allusions to the future human period appear. Elements or motifs include: schism between brother chiefs who are also shaman, division of group into two equivalent status entities, wholesale disappearance of game, near starvation, deception of powerful lookout and location of camp by extraordinary means, game held in captivity in subterranean pit, serial dispatching of people and replacement with character equals, cooling of hot meat by salivation, Lynx's guilt reaction making him suspicious of innocuous happenings, and opening of earth by insertion of medicine stick. Supposedly of close local occurrence as evidenced by place names.
- Style:** The scene is set rapidly and characters are introduced without elaboration. Events move in a straightforward fashion through time, and events are confined to a relatively small geographic area. Sudden shifts in scene occur serving to emphasize the swiftness of events. Repetition may be seen in the sequence of replacements. Numerous though largely supporting roles are cast. The story is a single, closed plot composed of multiple episodes.
- Cultural Reflections:** Chiefs were often powerful shaman and they occasionally struggled for supremacy by recognition of deeds. A chief was fundamentally responsible for providing adequate subsistence. Deer appear as base of economy. Mode of capture was unknown in later times. Hoarding of foodstuffs was considered inglorious behavior. The maligned leader behaved properly in sharing his first coup with his starving people. The narrative has dual purposes: it is explanatory in incidental respects since it relates why the wolf has grey streaks across his whiskers and why the bobcat and lynx do not look exactly alike, but it also serves to promote the values cited above through the medium of entertainment.

## Other Ethnic

References: This unique constellation of elements could not be related at the plot level. The symbolic divestment of power by the transformation of a white actor to another color element occurs also in narrative IIB2.

55-59 In the Nez Perce story "Coyote Bears He Killed" (NPT 183-4), Coyote threw a hot stone covered with lacy fat down Bear's throat. Bear had convulsions and fled. The same was done to Bear's wife and they both died. McDermott (1901:247) mentions the "Flathead" use of a hot stone wrapped with fat fed to Bear by Coyote, thus killing Bear.

## IC Black Bear and Badger

Abstract: Two chiefs decided to remedy a perennial annoyance by depriving the offender, Grizzly Bear, of his spring feeding. Grizzly reacted violently and conflicted with Crab (sohiha). Crab bested him. To save himself from drowning, Grizzly awarded Crab with an additional claw, whereupon Crab revealed the whereabouts of the hidden berries and people. Grizzly surprised the people and slew a chief's wife in reprisal. The other chief, Badger, of whom Grizzly was deathly afraid, pursued Grizzly and viciously struck him down. In the future, people could enter the berry patches without fear of Grizzly.

Content: The life setting takes place in the later phase of the pre-human period when the scene was being prepared for human entry; that is the social outcome of the plot. Grizzly constituted a threat to the livelihood of all the people. Mass reaction ostracized him and deprived him of his customary freedom. All characters play central roles. Elements include: hiding berry crop by unusual means, Grizzly defeated in combat by inferior Crab, exchange of resources to mutual benefit, savage killing of enemy's spouse, Grizzly's sudden fear reaction to Badger's presence, extended pursuit of offender, Grizzly's hallucinations of imminent death, and Badger's callous slaying of fawning Grizzly. No references to locus or involved ritual forms appear.

Style: Events move through time following precipitating incidents without temporal or scene shifts. Repetition occurs once in the use of four arrows. The story consists of a single complete plot which moves forward without irrelevant expression.

## Cultural

Reflections: Severe measures were adopted as a means of social control in the event that the welfare of the majority was threatened. Crab, possibly a diviner, counteracted the extraordinary methods used to defy Grizzly. Minor explanatory



elements are incorporated in the narrative. Cruelty was not to be condoned and the severity and finality of punishment for such a violation matched the offense.

Other Ethnic

References: The Kalispel tell an identical story, except that Wolverine kills Grizzly, and Black Bear was Wolverine's wife. Rationale for the conflict was not as well developed in the Kalispel version nor was Crab's role as informer (Hans Vogt's field notes, pp. 25-26).

ID The Flying Head

Abstract: The Chief's daughter was missing from the camp. Scouts were sent out but failed to locate her. The malingering Magpie flew far and found her three mountain ranges away where she had been abducted by Skad̄iokn, the Flying Head. White Owl, Owl, and Eagle were sent to rescue the daughter, but all were killed. Coyote had constructed a wall to the roof and to the edges of the world. Osprey followed Coyote's directions and led Flying Head through the walls and into a sweathouse, wherein Skad̄iokn perished. Osprey married the daughter and she soon gave birth to two small Skad̄iokn. After they caused great destruction, Coyote asked Rattlesnake to poison them. They became paralyzed and died. If it weren't for Coyote the world would have been destroyed.

Content: The setting is in the supernatural period at a time when monsters and unearthly beings were able to inflict harm upon the people. Four brothers volunteered to return the missing daughter. The youngest began the effort and the oldest reaped the benefits. Mountain ranges and Coyote's walls occur in sequence. The offspring were bizarre and uncouth, but they were tolerated as long as possible. Society then took supernatural measures to protect itself. Ritual forms appear frequently with sacred connotations. Other elements and motifs are: offer of daughter to her rescuer as reward for achievement, Coyote's ingenuity in constructing the trap, the role of the red sweathouse as executioner, revival of dead men by Coyote, appearance of Skad̄iokn fetuses as blisters on fingers, the killing of children by young Skad̄iokn, selection of Rattlesnake as shaman to dispose of them, and the rewarding of Coyote for his having been instrumental in saving the world.

Style: Events take place out of a permanent campsite and range to considerable distance. Excitement is incited in the telling by the effective use of repetition and the progressive closeness of rescuers to escaping. There is a minimum employment of dialogue. The primary plot is completed upon the marriage of the victor and rescued girl. The secondary plot adds depth of consequence by inferring sexual violation and viability between monster and human.

## Cultural

Reflections: More purely fictive motifs occur in this narrative than in those preceding. Young men were apparently selected by the leadership to pursue arduous ends. It was considered most valorous to compete for the hand of a chief's daughter. The eldest son was expected to marry before his younger brothers. The absence of specific behavior (with the exception of her obvious interest in rescuer-suitors and in escaping from her captor) on the part of the young woman reflects the pawn quality of the role which may be sex-linked. Again, the narrative symbolizes the ability of the social organization to fend off external threats, thereby re-affirming the unity and solidarity of the social system.

## Other

## Ethnic

References: A clearly parallel motif occurs among the Coeur d'Alene (FSS 21:128). "As a woman was about to rise with a load of fire-wood she noticed a man's head on her dress. It said to her, 'You must be my wife'. She rose up and the head fell off her dress. She went home and the head followed her. She entered the lodge, and it followed close behind her. When she sat down it rolled onto her dress. She took it up and thought she would decorate it with beads . . . The head stayed with her as her husband." In an Upper Thompson or Upper Uta'mqt story (FSS 12:25), a girl urinated on Bald-Headed-Eagle's severed skull. The head rolled after her and after overcoming several obstacles she threw in its way, it entered her privates as she climbed up a tree, attempting to escape. Before she reached her peoples' house, she gave birth to two eggs which bore the image of an eagle's face. They rolled after her wherever she went. Her sisters killed them by throwing them into the fire, where they burst.

"Coyote and the Rolling Boulder" occurs as a specialized version in the widespread rolling stone or head series among the Upper Thompson (FSS 23).

22-48

Correction: The flyers went out in this order - Owl, Hawk, Eagle, and Otat (possibly osprey). The girl wrapped the head in a blanket to slow him down the last time. Otat went straight through the first wall without going straight up first.

## IE Mountain Lion and Coyote

Abstract: Coyote and his four sons imitated the people and acted like medicine men. Mountain Lion, guardian of all the spirits, learned that none of his people had given them medicine. He sent messengers to punish the four young sons. Coyote called upon his guardians and erected a medicine lodge. Messengers sent to kill him failed each

time though they had succeeded previously in killing his sons. Soon, Mountain Lion was forced to recognize Coyote's superior powers.

- Content:** The subject matter is concerned with the Mid-Winter ceremony, a ritual introduced into the area in late pre-historic or early historic times from the plateau. Its temporal frame of narration, however, lies within the supernatural period when the ceremony was established and functioning. Many elements related to the guardian spirit concept appear as do many of the paraphernalia for the midwinter ritual. Elements and motifs include: imitating medicine men without having received tutelaries, death to violators, Coyote calling upon his personal guardians (excrements in earlier texts) to take role of sacred objects, telepathic abilities of Coyote, acknowledgment by Mountain Lion of his defeat in the face of superior power, and revival of dead sons.
- Style:** The scene is set briefly without elaboration and without reference to particular locale. Opposing groups of actors are located and their role differences emphasized in the opening. All characters take active rolls. Serial violations of sacred prerogatives begins with youngest Coyote and all four are killed in that order, from youngest to oldest. Attempts on Coyote's life by three subsequent messengers fail in order. The technique of repetition in the questioning by Mountain Lion of his people emphasizes the importance of the authorized acquisition-of-power formula. Events move directly forward in time. The narrative has a single, bound plot.
- Cultural Reflections:** The narrative promotes retention of sacred habits with respect to the acquisition of supernatural license precedent to the use of Bluejay shaman powers. Ordinary people would have been punished supernaturally without any recourse whatsoever, but Coyote could withstand the greatest of such pressures.
- Other Ethnic References:** The review of selected literature failed to document this narrative at the plot level. The minor motifs of Coyote consulting his personal guardians and his revival of dead progeny are of such a widespread nature as to render their diagnostic use in a comparative study very limited. No prototype forms of this narrative or parallels were located.

#### IIA1 Coyote and Buffalo Bull

- Abstract:** Coyote encountered and insulted Grizzly who chased Coyote until Coyote managed to frighten Grizzly severely. Coyote then tried to eat some dried bones but insulted them because they weren't edible. Buffalo Bull, whose bones they were, regained life and set out to revenge the insult.

Coyote, in fear of pursuing Buffalo, consulted his supernatural and placated raging Buffalo. The two joined to defeat a third Bull who had beaten and killed Buffalo unfairly and who had then stolen his herd. Coyote was rewarded for his part in killing the third Bull with a Buffalo wife. He violated the conditions of the gift and forfeited her. He thereby lost further help and the friendship of Buffalo Bull.

- Content:** The setting is in the pre-human era and there is no forecast of mankind's coming. The plot portrays a series of conflicts and encounters by Coyote in which he acts inevitably in a trickster and helping role. Elements include: Coyote's assuming false identity as defensive maneuver, insulting of the dead resulting in retaliation which is thwarted by Coyote's invoking the Sun and his assumption of a false identity, Coyote's role in helping the offended bull avenge himself, and Coyote's misbehavior in treating his gift resulting in forfeiture of the gift. References to unusual events permeate this narrative. Sun is the only identifiable entity. Two ritual formulae, properly applied, result in supernatural succor. No specific place of occurrence though the scene is a plains setting.
- Style:** Few primary actors carry on an elaborate dialogue. Changes of scene require little explanation. The narrative contains three separable episodes though each is linked to one another. Repetition is used often in multiples of four to heighten the action. The plot proceeds to conclusion and satisfies plot motives.
- Cultural Reflections:** This narrative depends upon its entertainment motives largely for continuation. Viewed broadly, it is possible to abstract a major theme: those who insult the dead cannot expect to profit by their folly. It is Coyote's function as trickster to violate everything held sacred; the perils of such behavior are self-evident.
- Other Ethnic References:** This plot is widespread apparently as it occurs among the Kutenai (KT 295) and among Salishan and Sahaptin peoples in "Coyote and Buffalo" (FSS 32:76) and in "Coyote in the buffalo country" (FSS 11:190).
- 91-111 One element or episode appears independently in a Sahaptin story (FSS 154). By running ahead of a woman, Coyote deceives her into giving him meat four times; the fifth time she refuses and he kills her; all the meat in Coyote's caches disappear.
- IIA2 Coyote's Son-In-Law**
- Abstract:** Coyote decided that his unwed daughter should marry. As

there were no other people in the vicinity, Coyote proclaimed that she would marry that one of her brothers at whom she smiled. She rejected her three older brothers but smiled affectionately at her youngest brother. Coyote proclaimed them married, and demanded that his new son-in-law provide meat for his mother-in-law.

- Content:** This narrative is located in the pre-human period. It involves action within a nuclear family with no further extension of relationships. The situation is fictive presenting no supernatural referents as causal foundation. Elements include: felt need by male parent to acquire son-in-law, selection from among male siblings of mate for their sister, baby brother still in diapers chosen despite ridicule by mother-in-law to be, and Coyote's expectation that his new son-in-law could provide for the entire family. Coyote is an authoritarian figure against whom there is no apparent recourse. Female roles were antagonistic while other male roles were passive.
- Style:** This exceptionally brief, but complete, narrative appears in skeleton form, divested of any extraneous exposition. There is nothing exceptional about the setting itself. Only in the formalized interconnections among the actors is there any condition worthy of emphasis. Repetition in the form of serial rejection heightens the climax. The narrator happily mocked in affected voice Coyote's laughter and his evident pleasure at his actions. Selection proceeded eldest through youngest.
- Cultural Reflections:** The plot motive is that of relieving by indecent means Coyote from performing as family provider. The immediate attraction of this story lies in its repelling quality as a violation of the incest taboo; only Coyote would dare do such a thing and be rewarded for doing so. An additional appeal is the absurd image of the diapered boy performing all the duties and obligations of a husband.
- Other Ethnic References:** In a Kalispel text, the plot of which bears no resemblance to IIA2, the identities of Coyote's four children are relevant beyond the point of coincidence. The youngest was named Wash-Your-Ankles, the next He-Unjointed-His-Knee, the next "Kvoltetalalqu", and the eldest was "Miyaltko" (KL, p. 20 of field notes).

### IIA3 Coyote and The Sweat Lodge

- Abstract:** Coyote came upon an old man tending a sweat lodge. He entered to sweat without invitation and was ignored. Enraged for being treated so badly, Coyote struck the old man down and sweated. Upon leaving, he was stricken with a severe headache that soon killed him. Fox found and revived him. Fox explained what had happened and advised

Coyote to return and make amends. Coyote returned and did so, whereupon the old man awarded him the power to wish for food. Coyote soon failed to observe the conditions of the gift and the power was taken away from him.

- Content:** The time factor seems superfluous here to plot, but the setting is within the pre-human period. Action occurs in a place isolated from other beings. The identity of the old man is purposely obscured as he is the spirit of the sweathouse, a deity possessing mysterious powers. Elements include: Coyote abusing an old man for his failure to observe a custom of long standing, Coyote's death by unknown means and his revival by Fox, Coyote's attempt to mollify his tormentor as a defensive act, his being rewarded as a consequence with a unique power, and his inability to abide by the terms of the gift costing him the rare power.
- Style:** Action moves straightforwardly, consequence following upon precipitating act. Repetition is used only near the end of the story where it becomes of great interest to learn how long Coyote will be able to do as he has been advised. (Note: This "cycle" is one of many ways in which the narrator may exercise his storytelling judgment in heightening suspense. He may elect to increase the incidence of wishing if he senses that it will enhance the telling.)
- Cultural Reflections:** The central objective motivating narration of this story, aside from its humorous side effects, seems to be: those who would mistreat the aged and behave in a greedy fashion will be punished by losing some of their privileges. Coyote abused a custom to have one of his own observed. If he knew the true identity of the sweat lodge keeper, he was undaunted in his disrespect for the supernatural. His shortsightedness is re-emphasized in his irresponsibility in losing a most valuable skill.
- Other Ethnic References:** In an Upper Thompson story (FSS 21:9), Coyote stole Sweat-House Man's blanket. Drastic punishment followed the act. The parallel is relatively clear.
- 19-21 In "Coyote and Elbow Child", a Nez Perce story (NPT 465), Fox straddles Coyote's bones five times and revives him. This element occurs repeatedly in this collection and throughout the oral traditions of a vast area. As such, it is a poor diagnostic element.
- IIA4 Coyote and the Hungry Teeth**
- Abstract:** Coyote came upon a man whose teeth had to be fed wood continuously until late at night when they quit eating. Coyote desired the teeth and, after much coaxing, he prevailed upon their owner to take his teeth in trade. He

was warned not to stray far from the river, the only source of wood. But Coyote was lazy and couldn't resist taking a shortcut. The teeth devoured him. Fox revived him and explained what had caused his death. Angrily, Coyote threw the teeth high into the top of a tree where they can still be seen.

**Content:** Although seemingly timeless, this narrative took place during the time of the witches. There is nothing sacred about the supernatural that appears in the form of "teeth"; rather a profane connotation is attached. Coyote's insatiable greed causes him to acquire what was obviously a liability. Elements include: Coyote coveting a set of extraordinary teeth possessed by a harassed person, Coyote managing to acquire teeth but being destroyed by them, and upon Coyote's revival, his decision to suspend the teeth forever in a tree. The last act prepares the world for human occupancy by removing the teeth as a threat. The plot allows for Coyote to inadvertently accomplish the act, as he was not at any time conscious of serving any other than himself.

**Style:** As usual, the scene is set succinctly and the action occurs within a small but vaguely defined territory. Events occur chronologically in linear sequence. Coyote encounters a situation that reveals something unusual, he wants it, negotiates for it, gets it, is harmed by it, and punishes it. The style is regularized to the point of an equation or at least a formula. Action is rapid, but not at the expense of detail or smooth continuity. The few actors reduce the necessity for using repetitive techniques; dialogue is used to advantage instead.

**Cultural**

**Reflections:** Values expressed in this narrative are obscure. Risking projection of other-cultural values, the plot motive could be: failure to be satisfied with what you have may lead a person to acquire a dangerous substitute. However, an important motif appears in the narrative in a non-traditional form. The "teeth" were obviously an extension of the widespread vagina-dentata motif, here transformed both in character and in form, to masculine attributes in a non-sexual context. The plot motive thus becomes at least partially explanatory in that it describes the formation and appearance of the "crotch" in trees where limbs join the trunk.

**Other Ethnic  
References:**

29-31 During Coyote's travels, in a Sahaptin story (FSS 152), he saw a girl standing on a hillside. When he reached her she asked him to lie with her. When he obeyed, her sexual organs bit and killed him. In a Nez Perce narrative, Coyote was invited by Butterfly to have intercourse with

her. In the act of coition, he was crushed to death. After his revival and upon consulting his "children" (his excrements), he returned with a brush-wood pole and "pried her apart" (NPT 53-54).

#### IIA5 Coyote and Camp Robber

- Abstract:** Coyote noticed that his partner, Camp Robber, was being unusually secretive and continually absent from camp. Camp Robber revealed the whereabouts of a beautiful young maiden in a nearby camp who was enchanting all the young men. Coyote approached the camp, saw her, became mesmerized, laid there watching her for a month and died; she was so lovely he couldn't bring himself to leave. Fox found him, revived him, and explained the cause of his death. Coyote vowed that thereafter men would not die because they desired beautiful women.
- Content:** This narrative appears as though it is a recent development, but it contains aboriginal referents. The situation is identified quickly as are the principal actors. Coyote's curiosity leads him into a frustrating situation, but, like the other suitors, he refrains from taking direct action. Initially he is jealous, then awed, stupified, and killed by starvation. Once revived, he pompously but comically declares (without apparent consequence) that others will not thereafter suffer as he has. Other elements include: presence of an untouchable young woman with peculiar habits and deathly attraction, Coyote's forgetting to nourish himself, death and revival, and his remedial effort. The plot motive seems to be the definition of a way to protect young men who desire young women unreasonably. Implicit is an item that could have gone unnoticed because of the vagueness associated with the relatively barren description surrounding the identity (symbolic) of the young woman (see below).
- Style:** No difference in style from previous narrative. Visual imagery tends to complement the effective use of a concise, clipped presentation.
- Cultural Reflections:** The key to understanding the motivation underlying this plot lies in the identity of the young woman. She is apparently a pre-pubescent. Ray (1945:203) notes that in the Plateau area, during puberty a girl could leave the dwelling early in the morning. She would be experiencing her first menstrual flow (menses) and would therefore be restricted to the seclusion of a menstrual dwelling. Even Coyote, violator of everything sacred or forbidden, could not bring himself to break abstinence under those conditions.
- Other Ethnic References:** Only the revival element could be traced to other narratives.



## IIB1 The Wolves and Their Enemies

**Abstract:** Four Wolves prepared for war by making eight loads of arrows. With these they slaughtered all of the cruel deer on the west side of Flathead Lake. They then built a canoe and speared Elk, a denizen of the Lake. Their leader led them to kill the powerful White Beaver who lived on Wildhorse Island. All the Wolves but Greedy were killed in the process, but Greedy confronted White Beaver and his people, killed them all, recovered his companions from White Beaver's stomach, and revived them. They continued on their way.

**Content:** The fact of this narrative's apparent local occurrence would tend to date its origin within the late prehistoric period though its content places it well within the supernatural, pre-human era when the animals were preparing the way for human entry. Elements include: ritual slaying of mean deer in a mass attempt to exterminate them, construction of a canoe and fire of pitch by which to hunt underwater beings, extinguishing of fire by accidental psychic means resulting in death of companions, betrayal of the Beaver den by curious kitten resulting in serial dispatching of Beaver opponents, recovery of dead kinsmen from within body of White Beaver, and their resuscitation by Greedy. Greedy's characteristic habit of acquiring a token from each slain enemy is worthy of comment.

**Style:** This series of campaigns against specified enemies is organized on the basis of a single stated motive, viz. that of clearing away undesirable and potentially harmful beings before the advent of humans. This narrative is more detailed in its rendition of war preparations than most of those recorded, an argument perhaps for its recency. Repetition of events in multiples of four occurs frequently. Action sequences involving all major actors begin with the youngest. The same technique occurs in the arrangement of Beavers with respect to White Beaver; the youngest stood at the greatest distance from him and were thus dispatched first by Greedy. The scene is set more specifically than in most of the other narratives, but the basis of the "vendetta" is sketchily presented. This sequence appears to be only a segment out of a longer narrative, the length of which probably rests at the discretion of the raconteur.

**Cultural**

**Reflections:** This narrative is only a fragment of an odyssey, the conclusion of which presumably leaves the world ready for human habitation. It helps explain why humans have not been molested in recent years by monsters or other forms of nefarious life, thus rationalizing the ease of transition that occurred in the locality when mankind took up

permanent residence. The adventure appeal coupled with the magnitude of accomplishment in overcoming superior power odds surely contribute to this narrative's effectiveness as an expression of traditional belief. The sacred or simply supernatural significance of the "white" Beaver, as a projection of a special color attributable to certain actors, may be a reflection of aboriginal (and modern) awe associated with rare albinism.

Other Ethnic  
References:

The basis for this plot is more clearly explained in a Lower Kutenai narrative of the supernatural period. The eldest of three Wolf brothers married Young Doe so that she would make him a pair of fine, well-designed moccasins. Young Doe could not make him moccasins of one piece because of the shape of his feet, so she constructed a new type, the two piece moccasin with u-shaped seam. Wolf refused to wear them when Young Doe explained why the one-piece moccasins would not fit the "pawed group" of animals. "Arriving home, Wolf told his brothers that the Deer people had ridiculed them . . . Now the Wolves must remove the Deer people from the face of the earth, so that none of their gifts would be left for mankind (Schaeffer 1949:10)".

A vague reference to five brother wolves acting as messengers appears among the Nez Perce in "Coyote the Interloper" (NPT 280), and also in "The Wolves and the Boy" (FSS 415-7). No individual Wolf is identified; they act together as a single character.

IIB2 The Wolves' Sister Marries

Abstract: The eldest Wolf decided that his sister's melancholy was caused by her being unwed, so he sent her on a long journey to wed a man dressed in red. She located him and they married. Because of her impatience, her husband was seduced by two Antelope women and he remained with them in the camp of their father. She returned to live with her brothers until she gave birth to a son. Then she went looking for her husband who then deserted his other wives to take up residence with his grandmother. He then deserted his former wife to follow his second wives to their home camp. In reprisal, the Antelope sisters' father had him smoked and everyone learned that he was in reality Woodpecker. He was forcibly ejected from the camp and sent home, whereupon he sent his former wife home to her brothers with the admonition that he was a Woodpecker and she was a Wolf and they should stay in their own camps with their own kind.

Content: The story setting is remote in place and time though the characters are little different than those in the preceding narrative. Events take place in three separate localities some distance apart. Numerous acts requiring

special powers occur. The actual meaning and significance of many elements (circumstances, attitudes) cannot be ascertained, due partially to the swiftness of scene and characterization shifts and partly to the probable inherent ambiguity of some acts. Elements include: young woman's effort to acquire husband designated by her eldest brother, grandmother's reciprocal recognition that they should be married to one another, consummation of marriage by female's sitting upon male's bed, husband's preference for remaining indoors during gambling matches for fear that he will be abducted by wicked women, his young wife's carelessness causing her to lose him to the other women, grandmother's duplicity in advising her grandson regarding his domestic affairs, the smoking of the errant husband in return for his fickleness as husband and father revealing his true identity, the chief's pronouncement that there was some important difference between Woodpecker and his Antelope relations that necessitated dissolution of their marital relationship, and Woodpecker's sign of agreement in sending his first wife to live with her genus group.

**Style:** By far the most complex form discussed thus far, this narrative is either a positive example of clear recall or an example of haste in narration for the transcriber's benefit. The scene is set clearly enough with more than adequate detail, but the speed of the ensuing action tends to over-complicate the relations between locii, characters, and movement in general. Time is traversed simply by a statement to that effect. The plot proceeds eventually to conclusion by a route which has the appearance of ingenious plot development in that the end product of the plot motive was not readily predictable in nature until the very last episode in the narrative.

**Cultural**

**Reflections:** Motivating the plot and, at least by implication, the narrator, seems to be the theme: nothing but misfortune is likely to attend the future of inter-relations with members of literal or figurative "racial" or social classes outside of one's own immediate group of origin and common association. Interpreted even more liberally, the theme might promote a philosophy of anti-miscegenation or, at least, a preference for endogamous relations. The cultural or sociological significance of the color "red" as a determinant of special worth or behaviors will become clearer as it is repeated in subsequent narratives (IIF, IIG, III). Underlying Woodpecker's preference for appearing outside only during the morning hours may be a custom similar to that discussed in IIA5.

**Other Ethnic**

**References:** The closest of possible sub-plot parallels, remote though it may in actuality be, occurs among the Wishram (Sapir 1909:67). Antelope's two sons succeed in stealing the peoples' shinny ball during which Coyote's children were

killed. Coyote, with the aid of his two faeces, catches the Antelope and transforms them into Woodpeckers.

## IICI Skunk and Fisher

**Abstract:** A grandmother sent her two granddaughters to become Fisher's wives. But his partner, Skunk, found them first and claimed them for his own. Fisher suspected that Skunk was not being completely honest with him and, by sending Skunk off on an errand, he learned the truth. Fisher burned the tipi and he and his wives fled through the smoke. Skunk returned to the camp fearing that his wives were dead. His campfire smoke that night revealed their tracks, however, and he went in pursuit. He trailed them to a cliff where he finally succeeded in killing all three. He revived his former wives and promptly fell asleep. They freed themselves and set him afire. They revived Fisher who lamented at the loss of his tipi and warned that they all must reside with their Grandmother.

**Content:** This humorous narrative was reputed to have taken place locally near Skunk Lake not far from Elmo, a small body of water which has a strangely green cast. It was reported incidentally that there was also a Skunk Lake at Salmon Bluffs near Cusick, Washington. Content suggests that incidents occurred in the generalized pre-human period. Events take place out of a hunting camp. Elements include: Grandmother's initiating action to provide granddaughters with a worthy spouse, the ritually automatic marital state by the act of occupying prospective mate's bed, abduction of Fisher's prospective spouses and assumption of surreptitious role of husband by Skunk, Fisher and his wives' escape via smoke and Skunk's similar act in pursuit, the thwarting of Skunk's efforts to subdue Fisher by the phenomenon of light diffraction, Skunk's replenishment of defunct musk revealing actual whereabouts of Fisher and Skunk's erstwhile wives, their demise followed by selective revival of the two females, retaliation by the girls in killing Skunk, and Fisher's recovery to the end that they cohabit in Grandmother's domicile.

**Style:** The satisfaction of essentially entertaining motives comes about by the use of various mechanisms: Skunk's subordinate role as flunky causes him great embarrassment in the presence of his newly-acquired wives, his absurd posturing to inflict harm on nothing but the water in the lake and his consequent frustration, his observation that something was wrong just before he was consumed by fire, and the sudden turn of events which cause Grandmother to become the recipient of both her granddaughters and their spouse (assuming that was the opposite of what she had intended by marrying off her granddaughters in the first

place, though that need not have been her intent at all). Repetition tends to increase the hilarity arising primarily out of Skunk's antics. The conclusion seems anticlimactic if its intent is other than to provoke Grandmother.

Cultural

Reflections: The primary motive is to incite humor; secondarily, there may be some effort to convey moralistic ideals with respect to the improprieties of stealing another person's wives (doubtful).

Other Ethnic

References: A tale collected among the Southern Puget Sound Salish, "Skunk and His Two Wives", (TSPSS 57:81) is essentially the same story and possibly a predecessor. The same general outline occurs also among the Kutenai (KT 23) and among the Coeur d'Alene (AACD 158), and in less obvious respects among the Shushwap (MAM 4:752).

1-55 In a Nez Perce story (NPT 227:51), Eagle hunts while Skunk does the housework. Five killdeer sisters go to stay with Eagle, but Skunk hides them under his pillow and puts five frog sisters in Eagle's bed. Eagle learns of the switch and escapes to a high cliff with the killdeer sisters. Skunk sees their reflection in the river and squirts his musk into the water. When he started up the cliff, buttocks first, Eagle hurled a hot stone through his body and knocked out his musk sac. (All resemblance ends at this juncture in the narrative.)

5-10 The practice of two girls accepting as mutual husband the occupant of their bed, or vice versa, appears also among the Lower Kutenai (Schaeffer 1949:17).

IIC2 Skunk Steals A Wife

Abstract: Skunk, who lived alone because the people feared him, visited the camp one day and found the people playing the stick game. He terrorized the group into letting him play and he took Spider's wife as his partner. Skunk was winning regularly because of his threats when Spider stabbed him in the back with his poisonous sword. Skunk excused himself from the game, left his winnings behind, and fled.

Content: Same temporal and physical setting as in preceding narrative. Elements include: Skunk's forcing stick game players to continue playing so that he could intimidate them into losing, his forcing of Spider's wife into playing as his partner, his incredulity upon learning that someone thought he had guessed wrong producing a threat to scent the area, and Spider's subtle influencing of Skunk to quit the game without overt protests.

- Style:** This narrative is typical of that class of short stories that convey a complete event sequence to summary conclusion quickly and without digression. The unique character of the contentives themselves, via their sinister portents of "scenting" and injection of poison, are of interest, depending largely upon the vividness of sensory impressions.
- Cultural Reflections:** The plot motive centers around the punishment of Skunk by like unpleasant means for his inconsiderate, domineering actions. Such behavior could not and would not be condoned and the wise man would retire quietly without comment.
- Other Ethnic References:** The element of Skunk scenting his fellow gamblers and running away with the stakes appears among the Sanpoil in "Skunk and Badger" (FSS 107).

#### IID Frog Takes A Mate

- Abstract:** Frog lived alone away from the main camp. He longed to have a mate and he thus informed the village chief. But all the women rejected him. He then appealed for a husband, and only Bat wanted him. Frog found it impossible to live like Bat and he appealed again to the chief for assistance, wondering if he might have a grandmother or a grandchild. When asked if he knew his own sex, Frog replied that he did not. He was advised to go home and remain that way.
- Content:** This is a tale, the setting of which is indeterminate, but which is pre-human in orientation. Elements include: Frog's envying the people who have relatives and his effort to acquire a wife, his willingness to acquire a husband upon being frustrated, his inability to adjust to the physical conditions as Bat's marriage partner, his desperation to acquire a companion leading him to requesting more remote relatives, his confession of ignorance regarding matters of sex, and the Chief's command that he remain as he was, alone.
- Style:** The task of fulfilling plot requirements is simplified in this narrative because of apparently popular impressions of Frog's peculiar physiognomy. Repetition is used to precision advantage in portraying his increasingly confused and futile efforts to acquire a satisfactory mate.
- Cultural Reflections:** The plot is designed to reveal Frog's lack of self awareness in not knowing his sex or its related kin connections. The narrative is a laughter-evoking vignette though it has its pathetic qualities. Frog's lack of self awareness may, conceivably, be a projection of a folk inability to distinguish between frogs on the basis of sex. Too, the narrative may mirror a typical behavior: "In some tribes

male transvestites 'married' men, and the couples lived together . . . (Leach 1949:1122)." Frog's ready ambisexuality may be similar to berdache-like behavior such as that which appears in the relations of Coyote and Fox in a Sahaptin narrative (FSS 184).

Other Ethnic

References: None identified as such.

IIE Kadlep̄ie Marries

**Abstract:** Kadlep̄ie was extremely shy and he lived with his grandmother until he considered himself wealthy enough to marry. One night he approached the Chief's daughter in her tipi where she lay sleeping. She reacted quickly, thinking he was someone else, and struck him in the face. He bled pearls from his nose and fled. Humiliated, he moved camp away from there. The maiden realized her error and trailed Kadlep̄ie by following the pearls he had dropped. She neared death from exhaustion and starvation when Kadlep̄ie relented and took pity on her. He descended from the sky, they were married, and he became known to all the people.

**Content:** The time is that preceding the use of structures other than semi-subterranean dwellings. Kadlep̄ie was a Duck (unspecified variety) who, for whatever actual reason, preferred a solitary, non-social existence in the company of his grandmother. Elements include: popular daughter of chief being courted continually but waiting for a person unknown to her, Kadlep̄ie feeling he was in a position to offer her everything she needed and his appearance to request that she become his wife, her willingness to admit her error in striking Kadlep̄ie, leading her to make grave sacrifice on his behalf by trailing him following pearl tears, Kadlep̄ie's descent from the sky to consummate marriage, and his becoming known to the people. The transformation of tears into pearls poses a minor content problem. "Pearl" may not be an accurate name for the precious stone or gem. Occurrence of pearls would indicate a coastal origin unless the item is borrowed from "white" tales. Unnatural events take place, but do not involve any major supernatural beings.

**Style:** This narrative presents an aboriginal romance, the outcome of which is predestined, regardless of the temporary interruption occasioned by the accident. The theme projects a sense of frustration because of the unnecessary delay in accomplishing the fact of matrimony between two deserving young people, a delay that could have been prevented had not Kadlep̄ie reverted to his withdrawal habits. The sense of futility lends an important, provocative emotional stimulus.

Cultural

Reflections: The plot is organized in such a way that it affords

appropriate identification on the part of an auditor. The central plot objective is apparently relief of the mutually frustrating and therefore unrewarding situation that developed to complicate what should have been a delicate, gladdening experience. Perhaps there was a kind of "commercial" or competitive motive underlying Kadlepīe's unwillingness to become known before he acquired property and family.

Other Ethnic

References: This narrative is somehow foreign to the collections, and it is perhaps one of a number of recent, external origin narratives whose content has not yet been modified to suit the majority narrative body.

IIF Snake and Thunder

Abstract: Snake encountered Thunder while walking through the woods and they disputed the right-of-way on the narrow trail. They threatened one another and fought. Snake eluded Thunder's lightning and fastened Thunder's hands together with his coils. Snake announced that he would release Thunder only if Thunder could locate a chief who could identify him (Snake) and coax him to let Thunder go free. After several such attempts failed, Bluejay, Mountain Goat's helper, revealed Snake's identity. Goat then threatened Snake with death if he did not loose Thunder, and Goat declared that thereafter snakes would have no power over men.

Content: Scene is set in pre-human era during the time the animal supernaturals occupied the mountain heights. Events center about a conflict between Thunder, a powerful figure to be reckoned with after Snake lost his power, and Tūmehū, a self-appointed tease who acted at his own expense. Elements include: encounter between strangers erupting immediately into violence because of mutual rigidity, Snake avoiding Thunder's onslaught by countering with a solid hold and Snake's stipulating the terms of Thunder's release, Thunder's painful progress in quest of an all-knowing chief, Bluejay revealing the already self-evident identity of Tūmehu, and Goat's relegating Snake to the status of simple serpent bereft of power.

Style: The plot attempts to rationalize Snake's present supernatural impotence by describing a series of events leading up to his reduction as a personage to be feared. Snake's cruel riddle served to his detriment. Each person interviewed as a possible acquaintance of Tūmehū's and who could not identify him added to the excitement as Thunder's pain increased each time. The climax is sudden and of an unexpected type, as is the equally abrupt reaction to Snake's deception.



## Cultural

Reflections: The plot leads to a distinctly explanatory conclusion. The symbolic importance of "red" may perhaps be clarified in at least one respect by Flathead testimony (FIM 25), "Anything red attracted lightening, and as thunder was thought to be the cause of lightning, everything of that color was concealed at the first rumble."

## Other Ethnic

References: No other previously reported narratives may be compared favorably, with the exception of IIG to follow.

## IIG Jackrabbit and Grizzly Bear

Abstract: Jackrabbit ran constantly and wore his grandmother out patching his worn moccasins. One day Jackrabbit encountered Grizzly, tricked him into falling into the river, and cut off Grizzly's forearm causing him to drown. Grandmother tanned the bearskin and fashioned moccasins from it. She complained of her workload and begged Jackrabbit to take a wife to do his repair work. Jackrabbit abducted Thunder's wife and brought her home. Thunder raged and pursued them. He pelted Jackrabbit with blinding rain and hail, but Jackrabbit resisted and ripped Thunder's eyes out with his bear claws. Then Jackrabbit gave his wife some moccasins to patch.

Content: Scene is located in the same general temporal setting as IIF. Motivating the plot is the desirability of relieving overburdened Grandmother by acquisition of a mate for Jackrabbit. Elements include: Jackrabbit's habit of carrying a sharp knife leaving him victorious in combat with Grizzly, Jackrabbit's wishing to preserve the severed arm of Grizzly, his abducting Thunder's unwilling spouse, and retaliation by Thunder resulting in his defeat and loss of both eyes and wife. Thus Grandmother no longer had to labor in Jackrabbit's behalf.

Style: Direct linear sequence of events without introduction of other stylistic techniques brings plot to desired conclusion.

## Cultural

Reflections: It was commonplace to acquire a wife by stealing though it became necessary to defend the spoils against irate husbands. Because of the inherent worthiness of Jackrabbit's motive in acquiring a wife to free aged Grandmother from excessive drudgery, he probably was supported by supernaturals.

## Other Ethnic

References: In a Sahaptin story (FSS 177-8), Rabbit lived with his grandmother. Thunder (hinma'at) had five wives he had stolen from other men. Rabbit took the claws of a grizzly bear with him to visit Thunder's wives. He asked which one was Thunder's favorite and they indicated the eldest, the one in the colored dress. Thereupon Rabbit abducted

her. He was pursued by Thunder who stormed, clapped and lightninged. Rabbit struck the cloud with his claw and Thunder fell to earth, allowing Rabbit to keep his wife. In a Nez Perce story (NPT 190-1), Thunderer had five wives and Cottontail Boy (who lived with his grandmother) stole Thunderer's favorite wife. Clouds thundered and lightning flashed, but Cottontail Boy refused to blink each time thunderbolts struck near him. He finally swept the clouds away with his hand, vanquishing Thunderer. Thunderer admitted defeat but decreed that later in time men would also be indignant when their wives were stolen from them. In a Kalispel version (KL 83), Rabbit set out to acquire a helper for his grandmother. He came upon women digging camas and selected one in a red skirt. She protested, saying that her husband, Thunder, was a man-eater. Rabbit refused to believe she was married and he carried her off. Thunder attacked until Rabbit stared at him with "wide opened eyes", whereupon Thunder broke down and pleaded for the return of his wife. Rabbit refused, declaring that he would provide her with love from then on.

- 30           The "red dress" element occurs in a Coeur d'Alene story (AACD 88) as incidental to the plot in "Coyote Devours His Own Children" where red occurs in connection with dressing up for some occasion.

### III    Bluejay Traps The Sun

- Abstract:    Bluejay, an accomplished hunter, had trapped everything but the big predators. So he traveled far back into the mountains and made three sets, wherein he soon caught a mountain lion, a black bear, and a grizzly bear. But Bluejay was unhappy because there was nothing left to challenge his skills. He laid a trap for Sun. When Sun was caught he threw himself up and down and it seemed that the world would be destroyed. So Bluejay trapped another mountain lion, black bear and grizzly bear to help him free Sun. Lion and black bear perished from the heat as did grizzly bear soon after he freed Sun. Bluejay announced that grizzly had saved the world.
- Content:     The temporal setting is in the later phase of the supernatural period. Motivating the plot is Bluejay's selfish desire to excell. His satisfaction nearly caused a catastrophe for all people, but he managed to be instrumental in remedying his shortsighted act. Elements include: trapping of three major predators simultaneously confirming Bluejay's competence as a trapper, lack of fulfillment leading to a major test of Bluejay's skill, Sun's writhing around helplessly in a puny trap, use of three large predators to free Sun, and all of the credit being awarded posthumously to grizzly by magnanimous Bluejay.

- Style: No aspects are particularly distinctive.  
 Cultural  
 Reflections: Circumstances are otherwise irrelevant to actual life conditions.  
 Other Ethnic  
 References: A remotely comparable plot occurs among the Coeur d'Alene in "Coyote and the Sun" (FSS 121) in which Coyote perpetrates a similar folly.

### III Two Brothers And A Wife

- Abstract: Brother-in-law was wrongly accused by his sister-in-law of attempted rape. He ascended into another world by climbing a tree. His brother learned of his wife's lie and killed her. He then devoured all his property and belongings and transformed himself into a filthy little boy. He wandered until he was adopted by his grandmother. In competition with others for chief's daughters, he won the contest. One daughter refused to become his wife when she saw his impoverished, pitiful condition. Later, he transformed himself into a handsome man and married the remaining daughter. The people were starving that winter. Other hunters failed to gather a supply of meat, but he single-handedly captured and drove a herd of buffalo back to camp. There the meat was distributed among the families and the remaining live animals were stored in a corral. Raven and his wife stole the herd and concealed it underground away from there. Snake and Prairie Dog were sent to locate the herd and bring it back. After several months had passed, Raven was found and the messengers duped Raven's son into releasing the herd. Once back in the main camp, the buffalo were well-guarded.
- Content: (Because of the detailed elaboration and physical length of III, only those other elements which do not appear in the preceding abstract will be itemized.) Scene is a small camp situation during the pre-human period. An act of dishonesty precipitates a series of adventures which constitute the primary notable factor in the narrative. Elements include: use by sister-in-law of small bird slain by brother-in-law as a kindness to her in a malicious manner, ascent into another realm by the phenomenon of a telescoping tree, role of dog as informer, unfounded invitation by grandmother to live with her, series of contests as tests of skill (ability as trapper and as bowman) determine husband of chief's two daughters, (interspersed by Coyote's questionable attempts to win the contest by unfair means), Grandmother's role in making all preparations for her grandson, grandson's inverted suspension from tipi poles to allow regurgitation of goods, Chief's preferential treatment in making special snowshoes for only one of his daughters' husbands, the people's ignorance of the identity of the handsome man, his

conjuring buffalo from their droppings by singing personal songs, his request that the other hunters arrange themselves in parallel lines so to direct the herd's course (analogous to drive line practices?), Raven's fickle wife attempting to care for handsome man rather than her husband, increase in size of baby's size playthings indicating corresponding increase in baby's size, self-transformation by messengers leading to baby's error, and Raven's efforts to intercept the herd failing to reveal the identity of its captors.

**Style:** The plot relations between introductory events and closing action, because there is no logical or rhetorical connection necessitated by the narrative's structure, indicate that the narrative could have ended satisfactorily at three other points (lines 41, 59 and 125). The later episodes are linked in a moderately crude manner, lacking the smoothness of transition typical of a closed narrative. A variety of stylistic maneuvers appear to facilitate ease of communication: successive growth of tree by stages as agent of brother-in-law's disappearance as actor, drawn out duration of search, humiliation of dirty boy by members of his age group (humor or pathos?), somersaulting as bizarre behavior in terms of circumstances, multiple contests, ritual singing of songs, increase in bow and arrow size infers passing of more time than is specifically stated, repetition appears as an index of frustration and anger in Raven's futile efforts to keep the stolen herd, and occurrence of characters in pairs or multiples thereof.

**Cultural**

**Reflections:** Plot motives vary according to sub-plots. Sub-plot #1 (1-41) leads to severe punishment for violation of trust relations between brothers, transmitting a minor moral lesson; Sub-plot #2 (42-59) simply tells how a miserable urchin survives unfortunate conditions and acquires security, illustrating perhaps the practice of sheltering orphans or lost young ones; Sub-plot #3 (60-196) develops an impoverished situation into one of splendor and eventually leads to increased status, perhaps conveying more a sense of improvement by mysterious means than any other noteworthy message. Additional episodes are probably attached dependent upon raconteurial design and preference.

**Other Ethnic**

**Reference:** A Nez Perce story (NPT 134-63), "Elder Brother and Younger Brother," is identical at the plot level, the only variation occurring in the identity of characters, though III is more detailed and elaborate. A like condition appears among the Sahaptin (FSS 158). A Blood Blackfeet story (Wissler 1908:46) begins where dirty boy was found by grandmother and ends where the stolen buffalo were retrieved.

- 16- The ascent into another world element appears in "Coyote and His Son" among the Sahaptin (FSS 135). In a second version (FSS 138), Coyote shot a chicken in a tree and forced his son to climb into the upper world. This element also occurs in "Coyote's Son" (FSS 120). Less obvious parallels at the element level of complexity appear among the Okanogan in "Dirty Boy" (FSS 85).
- 30-39 The rival suitor incident appears in a comparable plot construction among the Sahaptin in "The Rival Suitors" (FSS 157-8).

### IIIJ The Headman's Daughter

**Abstract:** A young single woman became mysteriously pregnant, so the Chief called a meeting of all the men in camp to determine the identity of the father. The baby cried continuously and it was believed that only the actual father could stop the crying. The baby still cried after having been passed among the young men. Coyote, sitting among the children, claimed fatherhood for his having stopped the crying, but everyone had seen him putting grease in its mouth. A decrepit old man picked the crying baby up and it stopped crying immediately. The people were ashamed so they abandoned the girl, baby, and the old man. Later, he asked his wife to disrobe and go out of sight. He regurgitated all of his property and finery and was transformed into a handsome young man.

**Content:** The setting is during the supernatural period though conditions closely simulate those of the post-human entrance era. An uncouth act becomes a desirable event, or its consequence is a socially constructive one, regardless of precedent intolerable acts. Elements include: a model female unexpectedly gives birth to a fatherless child, an established test is applied to all potentially capable males resulting in identification of the least likely person as the baby's father, desertion by fellow villagers as a function of their repulsion, reversed work roles between the young woman and the old man, and his conscious transformation into a relatively affluent state to his wife's initial embarrassment, thereby improving their life status.

**Style:** A problem situation is created and solved by ritual means, though the solution is socially repugnant. Subsequent events bring about a reversal of moralistic tone by presenting the positive aspects accruing to the young woman and, by inference, to other young women who respect the prerogatives of their elders. Such techniques as age-marital grade testing, re-emphasis of the old man's uselessness as a husband (26-30), permit raconteurial license to fulfill auditor expectations in a "standardized", stylized manner. Unlike other narratives in this

collection, a moral tag is attached at its conclusion, more perhaps for its non-Indian auditor's information than for any traditional purpose.

#### Cultural

Reflections: Men who inadvertently brought about motherhood were expected to assume the attendant responsibilities customarily attached to domestic relations. Women involved in such relationships were expected to be faithful, regardless of the hardships that occurred thereafter. The female character in the narrative was somehow construed to be an asset to the old man, considering that she was rewarded in a grand manner for her part in sharing the load. Ostracism from the central residential unit may have been an aboriginal penalty for such breaches of social trust.

#### Other Ethnic Reference:

- 22-25 In a Tlingit myth (BBAE 39:238), a child born of an unmarried woman and brought before the assembled men crawls crying to an old man, stops crying, and is married by the old man.
- 18-24 The learning identity of illegitimate father plot occurs among the Nez Perce in "Bears and Coyote" (NPT 483), but rather as an episode in a more complex plot. A fine maiden became pregnant. Coyote fed the baby marrow to stop its crying and to prove his fatherhood (Lynx was actually the father because he had urinated in the same spot as had the maiden). This Nez Perce narrative was said to have predestined a practice---"She who is considered by others to be superior and difficult to win in marriage . . . will be taken in marriage by a homely and poor man."
- 24 The desertion element also appears among the Nez Perce in "Wildcat" (FSS 195-6) where a girl was left behind with an old man when camp moved.

#### IIK Mountain Sheep Boy

Abstract: A family who was exploiting the high country by living off of wild roots and mountain sheep suddenly realized that these resources had become seriously depleted. They knew that the signs were no different before and that roots and game were still as plentiful as ever; they couldn't understand the unusual disappearance. The son announced that he could remedy things if his father and mother would adhere to a complicated set of instructions. They did as directed and soon food was again abundant. As a consequence of the son's acquisition of ritual from a supernatural, he was transformed into a sheep. He did not return. The following season, he approached his

father and emphasized the importance of following his instructions. The parents prospered through time until father deviated from the prescribed procedure, whereupon he lost his rights to game. They realized their error in breaking the "law" and they made penance by depriving themselves until they died.

**Content:** The essence or theme of IIK is the following: a person relinquished his life role as a family member as a condition to prevent his family from starving; the parents accepted the terms of their son's agreement but failed to fulfill their part of the ritual contract; that act resulted in son's forfeiture of life even as a sheep and brought about the withdrawal of all subsistence resources from the area. Other elements include (Note: the specifics of this ritual do not singly constitute narrative motifs; rather they are collectively definable as an element.): sheep-boy's explanation to his biological father of his altered kin ties in the mountain sheep community, and the shadowy character who had obligated the son.

**Style:** Motivating plot structuring is the need to describe the unhappy consequences of failure to meet sacred requirements. Narrative tone is undoubtedly a very serious, respectful one without the usual humorous or spectacular appeals; cryptic, foreboding qualities characterize the narration attitude. Repetition enhances the suspense aspect by delaying the multiple climaxes that are forecast.

#### Cultural

**Reflections:** One cultural interpretation was offered in the "Content" section. Also reflected in a general way was the value of exploiting faunal and floral resources only in terms of the procedures prescribed by the culture, lest those resources should be retracted by the givers of subsistence. Other reflections are of commonplace life actions.

#### Other Ethnic

**Reference:** No comparable traditional narratives were located.

### III Water Man and Woodpecker

**Abstract:** Woodpecker was a very handsome and fortunate man whose devoted wife regularly served him the finest of berries. One day, as she refreshed herself at the water's edge, Water Man climbed out of the lake. Attracted to him, the wife fed him her husband's fine berries. After this new event had been repeated, Woodpecker sought out its cause. He killed them both in the act of intercourse, claiming ruination of his marriage. All water everywhere disappeared except for a trickle that seeped from dead Water Man's forehead, and all the people went there to drink.

**Content:** Time and locus are typically indeterminate, but the

setting is in the monster phase of the supernatural period. A woman, ostensibly well-contented with life, allows herself to be seduced and to neglect her innocent husband. His remedy, for some unknown reason, causes all water to disappear, probably as a direct function of Water Man's prerogatives as a supernatural rather than because of any violation of social values on his part.

**Style:** The narrative moves directly and in succinct fashion from introduction to conclusion, slowing only for repetition of one event to indicate the progressive awareness of Woodpecker's insights into the nature of his wife's actions. The conclusion does not follow logically the expected outcome of events, but rather introduces an apparently implicit concept as the major consequence of the story.

**Cultural**

**Reflections:** These are obscured by the somewhat foreign character of the plot motive. The narrative probably fulfilled a psychosocial need to decry acts of infidelity on supernatural grounds.

**Other Ethnic**

**Reference:** A single narrative derived from a Nez Perce source (FSS 187), "Frog and Coyote", illustrates a comparable plot terminus in the drying up of the universal water source by female Frog in return for major misbehaviors.

**IIM The Whale Sisters**

**Abstract:** A wife was left alone while her husband went hunting. While swimming alone in a nearby lake, she was accosted by a strange monster (actually Whale) who commanded that she address him as a close relative. She finally addressed him as "husband" and, upon so hearing, Whale carried her off to his island. Whales' three sisters sloughed their daily chores off on Whale's new spouse. Her real husband consulted Meadowlark, an informer, and learned of his wife's whereabouts. He traveled to the island and fled with his wife, after having slain Whale in the process. The Sisters pursued the fleeing couple, but stopped after the man had forced his wife to cast Whale's comb and his as yet unborn child overboard.

**Content:** The setting is obviously at odds with the bulk of narratives previously analyzed by reason of its variant physical location and characterizations. The plot leads to a remedy for unwarranted acts against a busy husband. Other elements include: the latent implications of calling one's self a relative to an un-related person, shifting of Whale's care to his newly acquired wife by delighted Sisters, the involved procedure in eliciting information from Meadowlark, husband acting like seaweed to attract his wife, and the chase to recover Whale's rightful property and unborn child.



- Style:** The plot is enacted by means of a matter-of-fact, chronological statement of events, without recourse to stylized repetition or other common rendition technique. The noticeable roughness in transition between elements may be an indication that the narrative has been borrowed recently enough that it hasn't acquired the stereotyped characteristics of inland forms.
- Cultural Reflections:** The social meaning is not clear and it seems likely that it is not important that motives relate to specific life axioms. The function of narration must be that of entertainment, possibly with minor moral-spiritual socialization referents. Content definitely leads to the recognition of an external point of geographic occurrence though motives cannot be so clearly differentiated from those described in or ascribed to previous narratives herein.
- Other Ethnic Reference:** IIM can be related only at the element level. The unusual method of bride capture appears among the Upper Thompson (FSS 24) in "Marten and Fisher" though the plot and characterizations are at complete variance.
- 28-33 Also in A Nez Perce context (NPT 255), an actor, Skunk White, accidentally broke Meadowlark's leg. Skunk told her that if she would provide him with some information, he would make her a new leg out of brushwood. The identical element appears again among the Nez Perce (NPT 403) in "Wild Goat A Woman Carried Away" in the course of a man's search for his missing wife.

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An attempted resume of the preceding treatment by synthesis of attributes (plot or elemental) as they could be discerned in other-ethnic literatures led to the conclusion that such a procedure was pointless as a means of describing the peculiarities of Upper Pend Oreille traditional narrative forms. Generalizations arising therefrom tended to suggest an unwarranted homogeneity of thought and expression. Regularities of content and reminiscent stylistic features among individual forms should not be misconstrued as variable but integrated and characteristic aspects of the Upper Pend Oreille narrative body.

## Chapter Six

## Notes

- 1/ A word regarding the apparent undue restriction in consultation of published ethnic literatures is in order. In general, the farther distant ethnic groups were from the prehistoric-historic-modern locus of the Upper Pend Oreille, the less discernible were their literary similarities. Other literatures were consulted with no success at all; among these were Kathlamet (Boas 1901), Haida (Swanton 1905), and Tsimshian (Boas 1902) texts.
  
- 2/ Mythological time is variously divided by writers into separable horizons dependent upon the physical identities of constituent actors (theriomorphic, zoomorphic, or anthropomorphic) and the nature of the narrative universe. The technique is useful in distinguishing among narratives for ancient carryovers but it should not be viewed as anything other than a relative dating maneuver.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

It was not the stated purpose of this study to develop broad conclusions or major theoretical formulations related to Upper Pend Oreille culture or to primitive folklore, respectively. It was rather the intention to examine a limited amount of documented and original data in the light of multiple ethno-folklore propositions and in the shadow of the incomplete ethnography of Upper Pend Oreille culture in an effort to arrive at inferences about: (1) remnant Upper Pend Oreille culture specifics, past and present, (2) the statics and dynamics of the mythopoic process as indicated by the study of a particular oral tradition, and (3) projections for the future of the Upper Pend Oreille traditional narrative in its present and future social milieu. These were very complicated questions, questions perhaps only partially answerable by manipulation of the data gathered and perhaps inappropriate to the approach selected, considering the many qualifications cited frequently in the treatment.

#### Problem Results:

The distributional analysis by comparison of thematic criteria across cultures yielded perhaps the most fundamental clues of any phase in the data treatment, however idiosyncratic the preceding analysis, to the places of origin of the many concepts contained in the collection. In general, comparison identified not only a pot-pourri of other-ethnic relations, but an impressive preponderance of Columbia Plateau elements, presumably the consequence of intense interchange with groups occupying the eastern margins of the Plateau to the west of the Upper Pend Oreille.

The historical basis for these cooperative inter-relations has been demonstrated as the outcome of a common desire and need to exploit the faunal resources of the northwestern plains, thus blending some additional life ways among such already culturally similar groups as the Nez Perce, Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel and Spokane.

That is not to overlook the probability that an important carry-over of concepts from a previous state of geographic and cultural congruence between the Upper and Lower Pend Oreille as, or with, the Kalispel remains, as evidenced by the unusual similarities and identities with Vogt's Kalispel texts. Such is known to have occurred in other environments, as McLean (1893:172), for example, evaluated some effects of the macro-Blackfeet divergence, "The separation of the tribes (Blood, Piegan, Northern Blackfeet) has modified their mythology but the basis of the myths remains the same."

That complete plots and lesser combinations of elements should occur both in Upper Pend Oreille narratives and those collected during an earlier period among Northwest Coast and Plains populations comes as no surprise, though the realization is mildly irritating in that it tends to confirm indications of diffusional penetration well beyond the peripheries of adjacent tribal territories. Pan-Indianism respects few artificial and fewer still real barriers to movement and contact with other ward groups.

It is equally unfortunate that such a high proportion of the narratives in this lamentably small collection could not be related externally at the plot level. That event tends to emphasize the inadequate and non-representative sampling attained by previous researchers as well as comparable deficiencies in the present work.

It is possible in some instances that these particular narratives are recent productions; there does not appear to be any important differences in either form or content between the assignable group and those that could not be related. In that general regard, there seems to be little doubt that the processes of myth creation, change and extinction are continual, the rate varying in accord with stimuli related to environment, social change, time and culture. Boas (1940:404), for example, conceived of the myth-making process as an ongoing phenomenon whose features of the last ten thousand years were basically no different from those of modern myth-making processes. Narrative change by the techniques of creation and innovation are not recently identified means of diversification. Wissler (1908:5) noted that variation in the form of some narratives through time could be accounted for in the following manner:

This variable condition may be interpreted as a breaking-down of Blackfoot mythology, but there is another factor to be considered. Myths are told by a few individuals, who take pride in their ability and knowledge, and usually impress their own individuality upon the form of the narrative. Thus it seems equally probable that the various versions represent individual contributions, and, in a certain sense, are the ownership-marks of the narrators.

There remains little doubt that such conditions tend to stimulate change in at least some aspects of the traditional narrative. Lowie (1942:1) attempted to isolate more specifically the range of manipulation among the Crow.

These Indians are not transmitting automatically a fixed form, even though of course a few phrases have become stereotyped. Instead there is a tradition of a generic pattern . . . with a few subpatterns . . . which the individual is free to develop as he likes, so that the unique features of the several versions are, in their totality, impressively numerous.

Examination of this type of stimulant fails to explain why certain Upper Pend Oreille narratives could not be related. It should rather be

accepted as one consequence of the all too frequently random or all too selective sampling by folklorists.

If it cannot be established definitely, as it apparently cannot, that this group of narratives constitutes a body of perception characteristics of aboriginal Upper Pend Oreille culture, there is small defense for assuming that statements about early Upper Pend Oreille thought or behavior derived therefrom, concerning material or non-material culture, are fully valid. But if we consider the collection or agglomerate, as it were, as representative of the living perception of contemporary Upper Pend Oreille culture, such as it is, there is perhaps more to be gained. What role, then, does this apparently disconnected array of narratives play in modern times on the reservation? It is possible that narration in its attendant social context, assuming retention of symbolic-sacred attachment, is dysfunctional; the values expressed in the numerous, non-integrated narratives as related in an existing multiple social framework may be sufficiently incompatible so as to promote social disorganization, thereby rendering the individual incapable of healthy adjustment. On the other hand, there may be a sufficient degree of agreement between traditional values and the conditions and choices of life that narration or its content does not constitute a material threat to social stability. By like reasoning, if narration occurs as a nominal activity having little or no bearing upon the enculturative process, it would be understandable that the practice could survive in non-competitive satisfaction of minimal unifying requirements.

The latter possibility seems the most likely. And it is this realization that tends further to confirm the thought that a literal

interpretation of narrative content, together with that of the other data, may be the best of possible ways to understand the material. The bulk of the data collected in this study tends, in a very general way, to be in agreement with previous studies. The Sweathouse-as-Deity concept is not entirely foreign to the known Upper Pend Oreille religious life and it does not seem to be a modern development; the discussion does serve to amplify some aspects of the entire construct that were previously unknown or disregarded. Narrative reflections of social and political organization tend to confirm loosely organized local autonomies as led by single, but more often, multiple chiefs. Kin relationships, as such, do not occur in such a way in narrative context to reveal regularities in kin relations. The ambiguous role played by the maternal grandmother, for example, cannot be confirmed as a characteristic of Upper Pend Oreille kin-linked behavior, even though the female informant behaved in a comparable manner with respect to caring for her daughter's children and providing them with much of their pre-school guidance. Bahar's judgment (1955) that his study showed indications that the Pend Oreille group in older times were of patrilineal or unilateral descent with bi-local and patrilocal residence cannot be validated by "mythological" evidence.

Prospects For Narration Continuation:

The eventual fate of the Upper Pend Oreille traditional narrative seems quite predictable when viewed historically. The constantly unstable social scene will be a prime determinant considering that the instability is symptomatic of the forced assimilation in progress. We can expect that those narrative forms which have their relevance and therefore significance in temporally remote conditions will be the

first to succumb. Once complex plots motivated by central social requirements will lose their sacred as well as secular importance and will be reduced to simplistic series of mildly spectacular and unfamiliar, though entertaining, semi-popular fiction.

As the communicating ethnic population mass decreases (actually or culturally as a function of absorption) a corresponding reduction in the frequency of narration accompanied by a lessening of the quantity and quality of stories remaining in circulation is likely to occur, though an unequal but competing force may be generated in opposition as a cohesive, pro-maintenance reaction.

The always decreasing number of speakers conversant in the ancient language will tend to place destructive stress upon the narrative, perhaps to the extent that de-culturation or selective loss of contingent phases of culture occurs. Similarly, McLean (1893:163) felt that Blackfeet youth could not be relied upon to relate myths accurately, thereby implying severe effect upon the myth system.

Among the Upper Pend Oreille we now find that traditional narratives are recited almost exclusively by members of the oldest living generations; even these narrators have accommodated to some extent in both sacred and secular forms of subsistence activity. Younger generations are not, in the main, interested in learning either the old traditions or the native language (assuming they have been given an option). If they are to be exposed at all to the sacred traditions beyond childhood, the elder, but only those who are bilingual, Upper Pend Oreille men and women will have to relate the stories in relatively unfamiliar and usually "poor" English. If such traditions are to be perpetuated beyond present living generations, they will be



characteristically rendered in English by the greatest number who, for one reason or another, are interested in the traditional life. The transmission of such narratives in a language other than that of their common exposition may be detrimental, not because of any inherent inferiority of grammar or syntax in the achieved language, but because of the distortion arising from undeveloped skills in using and comprehending shades of meaning.

A point in time when the traditional Upper Pend Oreille narrative will cease to resemble in any central, functional way its prototype or even "modern" form cannot, of course, be specified absolutely. Termination can be projected in a relative fashion by viewing it as a concomitant effect of accomplished acculturation and social integration. A generalized prognosis is pessimistic in the sense that the chances of meaningful persistence are indeed remote. Few generations to come will bear even the vague stamp of traditions that had endured the privation and crises of formerly less strenuous periods of social transition.

Further Research Recommended:

If I were to have the opportunity to return to the reservation to continue this study beyond the exploratory stage, I would endeavor to improve my approach and the quality of resultant data in the following ways: (1) more adequate preparation by learning as much about Salishan as possible before beginning a specific inquiry, (2) procurement of high fidelity recording equipment whereby to record narratives both in Salish and in the English translation, (3) arrangement would be made to do the study in residence on the reservation so that narration circumstances could be observed in as many kinds of settings as exist, (4) the services of other Upper Pend Oreille narrators who have since

become known to me and who are scattered in remnant enclaves in separated areas on the reservation would be enlisted, (5) I would concentrate especially upon gathering several (at least three) versions of many more "ancient" narratives so as to allow comparison, (6) narratives of the non-traditional type (legends, anecdotes, personal accounts), as a check upon the multiformity of orally expressed unit forms as well as a means to comparing these types of the narrative, would also be gathered, (7) a much more comprehensive survey of published ethnographic data would be attempted, primarily among groups such as the Shoshoni of the Great Basin, the Crow and other Plains groups, and groups from the coastal regions, in an effort to determine the degree of areal restriction of elements and plots, (8) it would ultimately be necessary to consult the Aarne-Thompson Index for the purpose of identifying on a universal scale the distribution of elements contained in the Upper Pend Oreille collection, and (9) it would be highly advisable, upon completion of such a study, to return after an interval (assuming the few aged informants had not passed away) to re-record selected narratives as a measure of control on the reliability of the rigidity-permissive factor of narrator license.

Opportunities for original or basic research among the Upper Pend Oreille exist in various areas though the condition of the data, dependent upon its variable susceptibility to amalgamation and assimilation, may be less than desired. In my estimation, the opportunity to acquire a complete and reasonably dependable ethnographic account of Upper Pend Oreille culture no longer exists. Neither is it feasible to undertake an acculturation study on a cultural scale considering the absence of a well-documented historic base.

A description of Upper Pend Oreille Salish would be of value to anthropologist-linguists as a necessary but presently unavailable dimension in work such as that reported recently by Wayne Suttles and William Elmendorf as "Linguistic Evidence For Salishan Prehistory" in a Symposium On Language and Culture, Proceedings of the 1962 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, Seattle, 1963.

Study Contributions:

The value of this work can only partly be estimated by its designer, against whose naivete the production seems immense and profitable. The following items rationalize the more generalized accomplishments that were suggested by the various arrangements of data and the flight of observations arising therefrom:

The study served as a late medium for synthesizing the scattered products of reports dealing with Upper Pend Oreille and associated cultures, though all data were not possible to integrate.

The effort demonstrated the interpretation utility of using a multi-propositional approach in analyzing, comparing, and relating remnant traditional narratives even under conditions of advanced amalgamation and assimilation.

A generalized "reservation tradition" was identified as an unexpected consequence, though the possibility of defining a more "pure" Upper Pend Oreille traditional narrative body was not completely extinguished.

The work revealed the persistence of a functioning carryover assumed to have long before dropped from use, and it pointed out a "working" body of narratives acting in a moderately persisting framework of adjustive religion.

Problems encountered tended to indicate that the ethno-folklore perspective may be applied more profitably to the study of the evolution of modern epistemological constructs in a reservation context, rather than to the disinterment of ancient or historic associations.

The study served to point out clearly the difficulties in attempting a longitudinal (before-after) study without an established point of early historic departure, and it also demonstrated the futility of factoring, for comparative motives, even the extant content in remnant narratives; time depth as a persistent contaminant could not be reconciled across cultures via reported data.

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## APPENDIX A

## APPENDIX A

### UPPER PEND OREILLE FAUNAL AND FLORAL TERMS

Boas (1918), Weisel, and Teit (1928:128) have observed that Kutenai, Flathead and Middle Columbia Salish folklore, respectively, are characterized by "the systematic development of animal society." Their use of the term "systematic" should not be construed to mean a conscious attempt on a cultural scale, however, because the criteria rationalizing the system would be difficult to identify, especially inasmuch as a faunal name designation is often superfluous to the characterization and the role definitions of the numerous actors.

It is my intention in this section simply to present Upper Pend Oreille terms for the various animals, birds, fishes, amphibians and plants whose existence were made known to me by direct reference and inference. Many forms occur as characters in the narratives. I relied heavily upon mechanical techniques for identification.<sup>1</sup> Weisel's (1952) study of the ethnozoology of the Flathead set the taxonomic precedent with respect to the use of Wright's listing of the recent mammals in Montana as did Weisel's application of the American Ornithologists Union's check-list of North American birds and the list of common and scientific names of fishes.

The mammalian and bird classes were the only life groups examined extensively because of the relative rarity of fish, reptile, amphibian, and insect characters. Pend Oreille terms for native flora are listed only to the extent that informants confirmed their presence.<sup>2</sup>

Generic names were ordinarily attributed to "animal" characters, viz. Beaver, Raven, Bobcat. Grey fox, black fox, silver fox and cross

fox names consisted of the generic form prefixed by the respective color or other physical designation,  $\bar{i}c\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{i}qai$ , *itsk* and theme. Characters occasionally possessed a further identifying title such as, for example, White Beaver or White Raven. Some actor names were non-translatable and did not refer to any particular faunal category.

A few minor disagreements appear when Weisel's Flathead terms are compared with the Pend Oreille forms. The differences are probably due to a combination of any of a number of possible factors: variations in orthography used, disparities in perception of and discrimination among sounds, the possible dialectical differential between Flathead and Pend Oreille Salish, or faulty identification by one or both informants.

## Appendix A

## Notes

- 1/ H. S. Zim and D. F. Hoffmeister, Mammals: A Guide To Familiar American Species. The Wildlife Management Institute. Golden Press, New York, 1955; H. S. Zim and I. N. Gabrielson, Birds: A Guide To The Most Familiar American Birds. The Wildlife Management Institute. Golden Press, New York, 1960; H. S. Zim and J. G. Irving, Reptiles and Amphibians: A Guide To Familiar American Species.
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TABLE I: PEND OREILLE NAMES OF MAMMALS (Hūiqiūk)

<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>English Name</u>	<u>Pend Oreille Name</u>
Sorex cinereus	Long-tailed shrew	tsumsōyne
Myotis lucifugus	Little brown bat	teneʒūī
Ursus americanus	Black bear	n'thlamʒe
Ursus horribilis	Grizzly bear	sūmhīe
Martes pennanti	Fisher	šišps
Martes americana	Marten	aʒo
Mustela frenata	Long-tailed weasel:	
	white peltage	papklšé
	brown peltage	hlčīma
Mustela vison	Mink	s'taʒé
Gulo luscus	Wolverine	s'hūwéyin
Mephitis mephitis	Striped skunk	hasteye
Taxidia taxus	Badger	sīhoyho
Lutra canadensis	Otter	l'tkūeʒkū
Vulpes fulva	Red fox	qeʒhūqahwa
Canis latrans	Coyote	tsincēʒe
Canis lupus	Timber wolf	n'tsiitsn
Felis concolor	Cougar	skadisūme
Lynx rufus	Bobcat	pīčn
Marmota flaviventer	Golden mantled marmot	sqiqī
Citellus columbianus	Columbia ground squirrel	sīšč
Citellus tridecemlineatus	Thirteen-lined ground squirrel	saʒī
Cynomys ludovicianus	Black-tailed prairie dog	thūhūhemū

TABLE I (CONT.):

Tamias amoenus	Western chipmunk	qaqasehwe
Tamiasciurus hudsonicus	Red squirrel	isc <sup>✓</sup>
Glaucomys sabrinus	Flying squirrel	s'hūpūp
Thomomys talpoides	Pocket gopher	puḡiē epkakane
Castor canadensis	Beaver	skadēo
Dipodomys ordii	Kangaroo rat	n'tekpensūqektene
Ondatra zibethica	Muskrat	čiciléhū <sup>✓✓</sup>
Lynx canadensis	Canada lynx	s'nkatsū
Erithizon dorsatum	Porcupine	s'qīla
Ochotona princeps	Rocky Mountain pika	s'cine <sup>✓</sup>
Lepus americanus	Snowshoe rabbit	s'lqa
Lepus townsendii	Jackrabbit	wiū selčēn
Sylvilagus nuttallii	Cottontail	s'lqanū
Canis familiaris	Dog	n'kūqasūme
Procyon lotor	Raccoon	slumhūye
Cervus canadensis	Wapiti:	
	cow	s'ne
	bull	tšetu <sup>✓</sup>
Odocoilus virginianus	White-tailed deer	suūḡehū
	doe	suūḡehū
	buck	swadī
	fawn	slpapi
	yearling male	sqate
	2 year old male	n'nskīke
	3 year old male	sčācala <sup>✓✓</sup>
	4 year old male	n'taka



TABLE I (CONT.):

Odocoileus hemionus	Rocky Mountain mule deer:	stūlse
	doe	stūlse
	buck	pūhwe
	young	stūlse s'qate
Alces americana	American moose	skusutkus
Rangifer montanus	Mountain caribou	stiēkse
Antilocapra americana	American pronghorn	s's'tan
Bison bison	American bison	
	bull	koyqīe
	cow	ste-ma
	yearling	hqīqaqa
	2 year old male	stayūūtē
	3 year old male	tsūkum
	4 year old male	špekūpakūpāčēn
	oldest male in herd	pqēkū
Ovis canadensis	Bighorn sheep:	
	ram	hthūhūminī
	ewe	hoʔhwa
	lamb	hlpupusu
Oreamnos americanus	Mountain goat:	
	buck	n'hkthīmke
	nanny	sohđēhī

TABLE II: PEND OREILLE NAMES OF BIRDS

<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>English Name</u>	<u>Pend Oreille Name</u>
<i>Gavia immer</i>	Loon	ūsūhk
<i>Ardea herodias</i>	Great blue heron	skūaḡsī <sup>v̄</sup>
<i>Botaurus lentiginosus</i>	American bittern	summatske
<i>Cygnus columbianus</i>	Whistling swan	spakamī
Anatidae (in part)	Geese in general	hqasīhū
<i>Chen hyperborea</i>	Snow goose	wuo
<i>Branta canadensis</i>	Canada goose	qasīhū
Anatidae (in part)	Ducks in general	ses/kaḡhūm
<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>	Mallard:	
	drake	koīnkun
	hen	ses/uhū
	young	s'tūmé
<i>Anas rubripes</i>	Black duck	kūqī
<i>Aix sponsa</i>	Wood duck	t'tuqene
<i>Mergus merganser</i>	American merganser	s'thūhūstū
<i>Cathartes aura</i>	Turkey vulture	stakoye
<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	Domestic turkey	n'seḡsalta <sup>v̄</sup>
Accipiteriidae	Hawks in general	tsu/ḡtsu/semū <sup>v̄</sup>
<i>Falco peregrinus</i>	Duck hawk	ka·k'ka
<i>Pandion haliaetus</i>	Osprey	tsihūtsū
<i>Haliaetus leucocephalus</i>	Bald eagle	pakaḡūkyī
<i>Falco sparverius</i>	Sparrow hawk	h'yetsits
<i>Dendragapus obscurus</i>	Blue grouse	kath/ksé
<i>Bonasa umbellus</i>	Ruffed grouse	suis'kūs
<i>Phasianus colchicus</i>	Ring-necked pheasant	čūsuwīskūiskūs

TABLE II (CONT.):

<i>Fulica americana</i>	American coot	s'ted <sup>∨</sup> aksun
<i>Numenius americanus</i>	Long-billed curlew	kawit̄ao
<i>Oxyechus vociferus</i>	Killdeer	s'tiit̄s <sup>∨</sup> sun
<i>Totanus melanoleucus</i>	Greater yellowlegs	ʔūle
<i>Zenaidura macroura</i>	Mourning dove	hemeš <sup>∨</sup> em
<i>Bubo virginianus</i>	Great horned owl	s'ninē
<i>Nyctea nyctea</i>	Snowy owl	n'spaš <sup>∨</sup> inme
<i>Speotyto cunicularia</i>	Burrowing owl	ca <sup>∨</sup> caš <sup>∨</sup> imū
<i>Chordeillus minor</i>	Nighthawk	s'p'as
<i>Lagopus l. leucurus</i>	Ptarmigan	mkomakakath <sup>∨</sup> šé
<i>Pedioecetes phasianellus</i>	Sharp-tailed grouse	s'k'o
<i>Otus asio</i>	Screech owl:	
	brown phase	n'ca <sup>∨</sup> cū <sup>∨</sup> e
	red phase	skūkēwē
<i>Stellula calliope</i>	Calliope hummingbird	ʔhatnī
<i>Megaceryle alcyon</i>	Belted kingfisher	s'aq̄is
<i>Colaptes cafer</i>	Red-shafted flicker	qaqadē
<i>Dryobates pubescens</i>	Downy woodpecker	s'ted <sup>∨</sup> ehū
<i>Hirundo erythrogaster</i>	Bar Swallow	thema
<i>Cyanocitta stelleri</i>	Steller's jay	qasqī
<i>Pica pica</i>	American magpie	atn'n
<i>Corvus corax</i>	Raven	m'ḏa
<i>Corvus brachyrhynchos</i>	Crow	s's'ta
<i>Turdus migratorius</i>	Robin	s'haa <sup>∨</sup> ca
<i>Sialia currucoides</i>	Mountain bluebird	n'hq̄iqaya
<i>Bombycilla cedrorum</i>	Cedar waxwing	kūkūsum

TABLE II (CONT.):

<i>Sturnella neglecta</i>	Western meadowlark	wehwī
<i>Agelaius phoeniceus</i>	Red-winged blackbird	kčka
<i>Tyrannus tyrannus</i>	Kingbird	hit·tesīī
<i>Troglodytes aedon</i>	Wren	recognized, but no name recalled
<i>Dumetella carolinensis</i>	Catbird	saūahī
<i>Sitta carolinensis</i>	Nuthatch	tshasēt
<i>Plectrophenax nivalis</i>	Snow bunting	slūmekumkut
<i>Capella gallinago</i>	Snipe	s'n'newīun
<i>Columbia livia</i>	Pigeon	hoshaho

Generic terminology:

Migratory birds-	sta·kat
"Song birds"-	thkhūīqēyūk
Birds that "swoop and grab"-	tsu/tsu/semū

TABLE III: PEND OREILLE NAMES OF AMPHIBIANS AND REPTILES

<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>English Name</u>	<u>Pend Oreille Name</u>
Amphibia:		
Rana pipiens	Leopard frog	themthlama
Rana pretiosa	Spotted frog	
Reptilia:		
Ophidia	Snakes in general	s'čewīdē
Thamnophis elegans	Gartersnake	s'čewīdē seūhulkū
Thamnophis ordinatus		
Crotalis viridis	Rattlesnake	kīūdēo
Chrysemys picta	Painted turtle	spudqa

TABLE IV: PEND OREILLE NAMES OF FISHES

<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>English Name</u>	<u>Pend Oreille Name</u>
Pisces	Fish in general	sūwēwulk
Oncorhynchus nerka	Red salmon	sumhī
Salmo clarkii	Cut-throat trout	pīshk
Salvelinus fontinalis	Eastern brook trout	hqīqīyū
Prosopium williamsoni	Mountain whitefish	hoyū
Catostomus catostomus	Longnose sucker	čēdēne
Ptychocheilus oregonense	Columbia squawfish	kūqe
Ameiurus melas	Black bullhead	s's'tema

TABLE V: PEND OREILLE NAMES OF FLORA

<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>English Name</u>	<u>Pend Oreille Name</u>
Abies sp.	Fir tree	s'k'elp
Amelanchier arborea	Serviceberry	
Larix occidentalis	Tamarack (Western larch)	stakūls
Populus deltoides	Cottonwood tree	mud̄sč̄
Prunus virginiana	Chokecherry	ʔoʔohwaʔoqī

## APPENDIX B

## APPENDIX B

### BIOGRAPHICAL AND PERSONALITY SKETCHES

The sometimes dubious effect of attained rapport, as assumed between the investigator and a native respondent, is a matter of imminent concern to the pedantanalyst of interpersonal affect. Culture and role identification as well as status expectations on the part of informants may tend to alter both the form and nature of data elicited. I have prepared the brief sketches to follow with the hope that something may be captured that will allow reader insights into my relations with the informant group as well as providing glimpses into their background and motivation as informants.

Pete Beaverhead was born August 8, 1899, at 6:00 in the morning just as the church bell rang in St. Ignatius Mission. His father, Alec Beaverhead, died in 1947 at the age of 68, and his mother, Louise Chapue, passed away on Thanksgiving in 1926. Pete's grandfather was from Cusick, Washington, where he still has many relatives. His grandfather is buried at Colville (Reservation). The grandparental family name was Alexander, but Alec wore a beaver cap; thus the name of "Beaverhead". (Note: Pete's grandfather or great-grandfather may have been "No Horses" who died a very old man about 1868. He was the Pend Oreille chief who made the treaty with Governor Stevens (Teit 1930:377).

Pete's developmental years were not without event. He was the first born, and several miscarriages prevented his having early siblings. Two sisters, Anne and Christine, were born two or three years later, but both died during their first three years. It wasn't until fourteen years later that Pete's sister Mary was born. She was soon followed by



Antoine and Mary Louise, five years apart.

It was during the period from late childhood through his adolescent years that Pete apparently acquired the bulk of his knowledge of traditional Upper Pend Oreille and other lore. During his early formative years, the family lived near the Mission. Here he came under the tutelage of Kykysi<sup>v</sup>, an old Pend Oreille chief, and an old man named Nenemé, also Pend Oreille. Sadlūen, boogie man at the Mission, also had some influence on Pete's learning behavior. After leaving the Mission and moving to the south Ronan area, Pete came under the guidance of Little Martin and Ignace Que-que-su, well-known and reputed leaders. While the other children cared more for play, Pete listened to the old men. At dances, church days, feasts and wakes he would go sit with the old people. It is said that the old men still defer on occasion to Pete's clearer recollections of narrative details.

Pete preferred communicating in Salish. I could not determine the extent of his actual working knowledge of English, but his comprehension extended well beyond his usable repertoire of terminology such as "hello", "thank you", etc. During our early work he pretended not to understand my inquiries as directed to the interpreter, and responded only upon questioning by the interpreter. He later conversed as freely as his limited English lexicon allowed.

Josephine Beaverhead, whose maiden name was LaVallee, married Pete in 1921 at the age of seventeen. Her mother was Nez Perce-Pend Oreille, but her father was a French Canadian Cree from Lake Chapelle near Hudson Bay. Now fifty-nine years old, Mrs. Beaverhead's early childhood was not examined to the extent of her husband. Her people had moved up into the Valley from Stevensville years before. Claremont Creek on the

reservation was named after her mother.

Patrick Adams, skillfully bilingual and well-versed in modern Indian activities, had actively promoted Indian arts and crafts over the years. His interests and talents served me to good advantage when he decided a few years earlier to begin writing down the old stories and also short narratives describing the historic and reservation eras. Narratives were collected by Pat, reproduced, and made available for my use. Having these printed narratives at hand, I recorded them myself and compared versions. While Pat's interests and naivete inclined him toward an extremely free English translation, the content nevertheless was useful as were some gross stylistic features.

Other Observations:

Upon returning for my second visit after my initial meeting with the Beaverheads during which I had framed my research interests, I noticed a copy of Grimm's Fairy Tales lying at their bedside. Josephine indicated somewhat apologetically that she had wanted to be certain that she and Pete were providing me with the kind of information I needed, so she had done a little positive research, fortunately of a kind that did not influence the data.

The informant group served faithfully and patiently without monetary remuneration despite their obvious economic hardship. I was able to promote the sale of a limited number of mocassins and beaded articles made by Mrs. Beaverhead, but this was the only kind of assistance I was able to provide. They knew that some of the Flathead had received money in return for their services in the course of studies conducted by anthropologists and others on the reservation, but they did

not express overt disappointment.

During the last days of my interviewing, a crew from Montana State College filmed the movie "Vision Quest" using the Beaverheads, Mrs. Adams, Pat and Pete's eldest grandson as actors. The seriousness and skill with which all members of the cast performed their respective roles seemed to reinforce my own impression of rare and genuine motivation in the direction of preserving accurate knowledge of their past and present cultural life.

Mrs. Beaverhead has been an active participant in Catholic ritual, to a much greater extent than I was able to determine for others of the informant group. Pete, obviously more active in the masculine routines typical of reservation subsistence, was much more involved in native social and religious activities. Both were knowledgeable enough about those aspects of Catholic belief which tended to limit their expression of the more "earthy" elements central to some narrative forms. As was noted earlier there seemed to have been a conscious effort to obscure what had been earlier plainly sexual and excremental referents in narratives. Even my assurance that such information was not offensive or otherwise objectionable served to lessen their resistance only to a small extent. Thus, it was possible to see a very real conflict not easily resolved by the informants, as they wanted to, at the same time, provide accurate information and also the kinds of information that would not throw an unfavorable, critical light on contemporary Indian attitude and interests.